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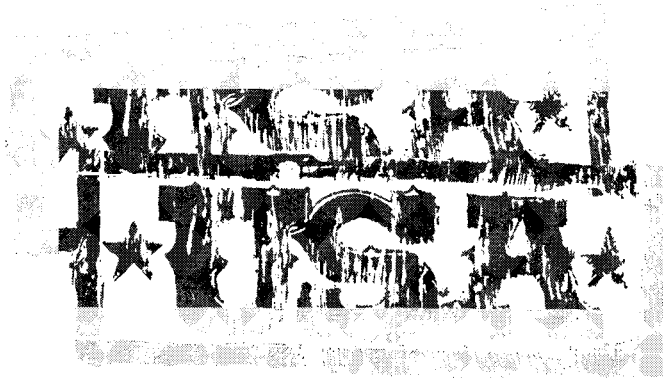
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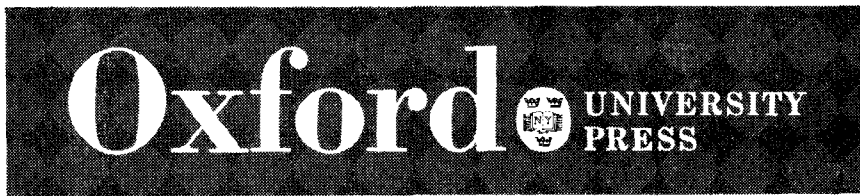
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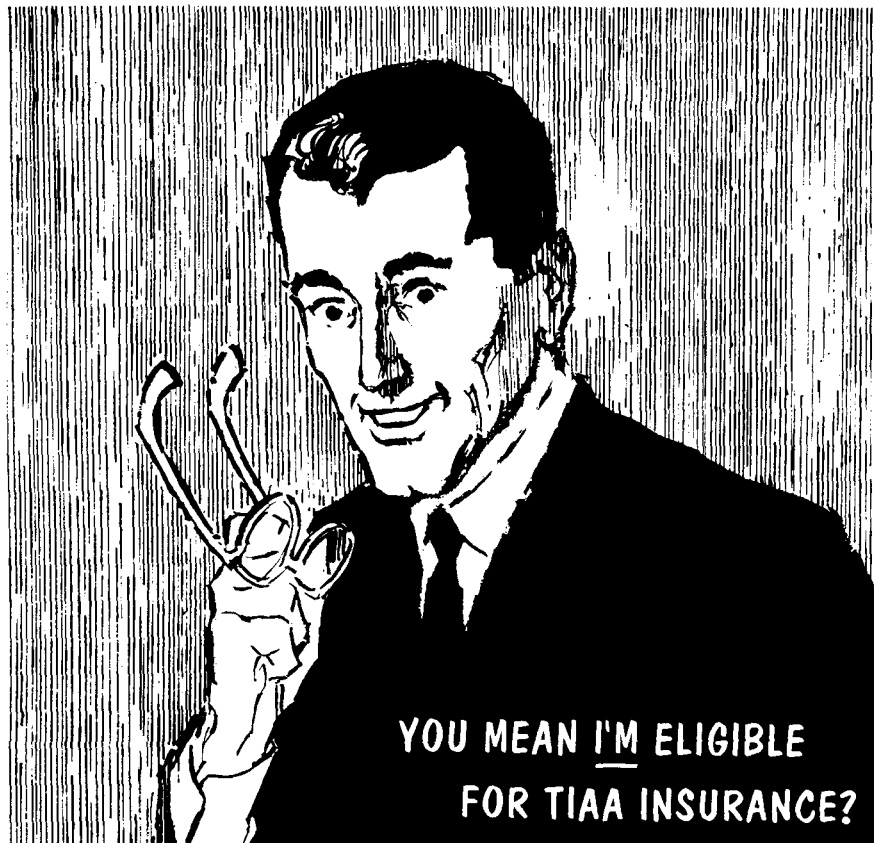
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The Economic Meaning of the
Invention of the Compass

FREDERIC C. LANE*

THE discovery of America by Europeans appears most obviously the outstanding result of the development of the mariner's compass, and Samuel Eliot Morison's biography of Columbus has emphasized anew Columbus' dependence on the compass. Although Columbus made a pretense of understanding how to determine his position from the sun and stars, he had not in fact mastered the methods of astronomical navigation that the Portuguese were in the process of working out. He relied entirely on dead reckoning. His ability to describe accurately where he had been and to find the same island again on a new crossing of thousands of miles of ocean depended on the accuracy of his estimates of speed and on the correctness of his record of courses plotted by the compass. To be sure, mere dead reckoning on voyages of such

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length, subject to the pull of ocean currents and complicated by changes in the magnetic variation, was almost sure to lead to grave errors unless the navigator had a personal uncanny "feel" for the signs of the sea, as did Columbus. The more scientific methods being developed by the Portuguese were no doubt necessary for a regular flow of ordinary voyages. Quadrant or quarter-staff as well as compass and chart were necessary for the settlement and exploitation of the American continent. Yet the discovery itself is tightly linked to the use of the compass.¹

My concern here is not with transoceanic voyages, however; it is with the more immediate effects of the invention of the mariner's compass, and especially with the century between 1250 and 1350.

The immediate effects were most important in the Mediterranean. There the use of the compass went hand in hand with the creation of nautical charts of unprecedented accuracy and the compilation of the navigating tables called *tavole di marteloio*. The charts are commonly called portolanos although that name more properly belongs to the written sailing directions that were compiled for the Mediterranean as a whole in the middle of the thirteenth century, at about the same time that the first portolan charts were composed. In the early fourteenth century these charts had reached a high standard of accuracy for all the Mediterranean. They depicted the Atlantic less accurately and either omitted or misrepresented the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic. The navigating tables, for use in reducing a zigzag of tacks to a single compass bearing, were already referred to by Raymond Lull about 1290, although the earliest known examples are in Venetian manuscripts of the fifteenth century.² Charts, tables, and compass used together reduced the errors of sailing by dead reckoning. They formed a new technique of navigation which was characteristic for the Mediterranean and was so well fitted for that sea that even in the mid-sixteenth century the compass was the only instrument there considered necessary.³

The immediate practical consequence in the Mediterranean of the inven-

¹ E. G. R. Taylor, *The Haven-Finding Art: A History of Navigation from Odysseus to Captain Cook* (London, 1956), Chap. vii; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus* (2 vols., Boston, 1942); and on the inadequacies of dead reckoning, C. V. Sölver and G. J. Marcus, "Dead Reckoning and the Ocean Voyages of the Past," *Mariner's Mirror*, XLIV (No. 1, 1958), 18-34.

² Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, Chap. v; *Il Compasso da Navigare*, ed. Bacchisio R. Motzo, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Cagliari, VIII (1947), introd.; Konrad Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1909), 50-80.

³ Ugo Tucci, "Sur la pratique vénitienne de la navigation au xvi^e siècle," *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, XIII (Jan.-Mar. 1958), 72-74; Commandant Avelino Teixeira da Mota, "L'Art de naviguer en Méditerranée du xiii^e au xvii^e siècle et la création de la navigation astronomique dans les océans," in *Le Navire et l'économie maritime du moyen âge au xviii^e siècle principalement en Méditerranée*, ed. Michel Mollat (Paris, 1958), 129-38; see also Alberto Tenenti, *Cristoforo da Canal: La Marine vénitienne avant Lépante* (Paris, 1962), 42.

tion of the compass was more navigation during winter months. In summer, Mediterranean sailors were able to plot their courses fairly accurately using the sun by day and the stars in the clear Mediterranean nights. There is no reason to think that they had ever been afraid to put out beyond the sight of land in the summer. During fair weather they could lay their courses by the stars.⁴ That early sailors "hugged" the shore is a landsman's idea, as Professor Eva Taylor and Admiral Morison agree; a sailor's fear of rocks and reefs near the coast made him prefer to stand well out to sea.⁵ The trade to Crete and Cyprus from Egypt and Phoenecia at the dawn of history shows at how early a date Mediterranean sailors were prepared to go out of sight of land. In the twelfth century, voyages were made from Marseilles to Alexandria circling west and south of Sicily but avoiding at the same time the hostile African shore.⁶ So long as the nights were clear these seamen were not afraid of losing their way even on a long voyage.

The compass was initially a means of countering overcast. "The mariners guide themselves in obscure nights by the needle," says a typical thirteenth-century text, "which is the means . . . to show them how to go in bad weather as in good."⁷ In the Mediterranean the "bad weather" comes between October and April. Modern hydrographic office reports show that the Mediterranean skies are on the average about one-half covered in those months and seldom overcast in summer.⁸ If the climate has changed appreciably during the last two thousand years, as some experts say and others deny, the storm track of the Northern Hemisphere sometimes swung further south than at present. Such a swing, bringing more variable winds and more cloudiness in the Mediterranean, may have occurred about A.D. 1300, but that is uncertain.⁹ In part of antiquity, winds and weather may have been worse than they are now.

⁴ Léon Denoix, "Les Problèmes de navigation au début des grandes découvertes," in *Le Navire et l'économie maritime du Nord de l'Europe du Moyen-Âge au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Michel Mollat (Paris, 1960), 132.

⁵ Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 4; Morison's review of Miss Taylor's book in *Isis*, XLIX (Pt. 3, 1958), 352-53; also G. J. Marcus, "The Mariner's Compass: Its Influence upon Navigation in the Later Middle Ages," *History*, XLI (No. 1, 1956), 16-17.

⁶ Adolf Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte des romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (Munich and Berlin, 1906), 153.

⁷ Quoted in John Forsyth Meigs, *The Story of the Seamen* (2 vols., Philadelphia and London, 1924), I, 268; cf. Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 94.

⁸ US Hydrographic Office, *Sailing Directions for the Mediterranean* (2d ed., 5 vols., Washington, D. C., 1952), V, 13, on the Aegean; see the tables in other volumes for various ports elsewhere, e.g., IV, 242-45.

⁹ Arguments for the change are presented by Ellsworth Huntington, for example, in his *Civilization and Climate* (New Haven, Conn., 1924), 327, 358, 401, and by Gustaf Utterström, "Climatic Fluctuations and Population Problems in Early Modern History," *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, III (No. 1, 1955), 19-21; see also C. E. P. Brooks, *Climate through the Ages* (New York, 1949), 301; H. C. Willett, "Long Period Fluctuations in General Circulation of the Atmosphere," *Journal of Meteorology*, VI (No. 1, 1949), 35, 49-50; and Karl W. Butzer, "Climatic Change in Arid Regions since the Pliocene," in *History of Land Use in Arid Lands*, ed. L. D. Stamp (Paris, 1960), 43-47.

The Greeks and Romans pulled their long ships ashore between October and April and tied up their heavy merchantmen.¹⁰ It was not only storm they feared; it was also rain, clouds, and fog.

In the twelfth century and at the beginning of the thirteenth the seas were still closed in winter. A desire not to have vessels at sea between October and March is evident in the early records of the Italian cities. Venetian convoys sent to the Levant were so timed as to avoid the winter months. One fleet left about Easter and returned in September. A second fleet, called the fall or winter *muda*, left in August, wintered overseas, and returned the following spring, often reaching Venice in May. The early statutes of Pisa contained the rule that if a ship made harbor on or after the first of November the ship captain could not put to sea again prior to March 1 without the consent of the merchants on board.¹¹ From Genoa there was an annual caravan to Syria and Egypt leaving in September, reaching Egypt in October, wintering there, and returning late in the spring. It was expected at Genoa by St. John's Day, June 24.¹²

In the fourteenth century we find a different rhythm of voyages. Venetian fleets were making two round trips a year. The fleet left in February and returned in May, normally; the second convoy left about August 1 and was due back before Christmas.¹³ Thus there was no need for either fleet to winter overseas. The Genoese ordered their galleys, at least, to make two voyages a year also, if going to Cyprus or the Aegean, one leaving in February, the other between mid-August and mid-September.¹⁴ At Pisa the notarial records begin already in the 1280's to show ships leaving at all times of year, even in the dead of winter.¹⁵ Thus the traditional "closing of the sea in winter," which had persisted in the Mediterranean during several thousand years, was shattered by the compass.

Of course one should not exaggerate the abruptness of the change. Some

¹⁰ Lionel Casson, *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times* (New York, 1959), 39, 234.

¹¹ Walter Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea-Law* (Oxford, Eng., 1909), cxliii, cxlviii; *Fonti per la Storia di Venezia*, sez. IV, *Archivi Privati, Famiglia Zusto*, ed. Luigi Lanfranchi (Venice, 1955), 26.

¹² Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte*, 153-54.

¹³ *Le Deliberazioni del Consiglio dei Rogati (Senato), Serie "Mixtorum,"* I, ed. Roberto Cessi and Paolo Sambin, Monumenti Storici pubblicati dalla Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, New Ser., XV (Venice, 1960) [hereafter cited as *Delib. dei Rogati*], 60, No. 219; 85-86, No. 308; 93, No. 318; 169, No. 275; see also notes 41-44, below.

¹⁴ *Monumenta Historiae Patriae, Leges Municipales* (2 vols., Turin, 1838-76), Institutio Offici Gazarie, II, 340-41.

¹⁵ David Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance: A Study in Urban Growth* (New Haven, Conn., 1958), 107-108. Dr. Sobhi Y. Labib informed me that Arab sources show the closing of the sea in winter to have been observed at Alexandria also until the thirteenth century but not thereafter. See his forthcoming "Handelsgeschichte Ägypten in Spätmittelalters."

voyages had been made in winter in earlier centuries,¹⁶ and winter navigation continued to be less pleasant and less safe in general than summer sailing. When *savii ai ordeni* were established at Venice in 1321 to make specific provision year by year for the voyages of the merchant galleys, one of the objectives specified in the law defining their duties was that the galleys should return in due season and not navigate in winter.¹⁷ As late as 1569 wrecks were blamed on navigation in the dead of winter ("su'l cuor dell' invernata"), and a law was passed forbidding Venetian ships to leave Venice or any port in the Levant between November 15 and January 20.¹⁸ This law was then an anachronism,¹⁹ but let us note that it did not interfere with the schedule for two round trips a year established about 1300. Under that schedule also departures between November 15 and January 20 were avoided. The spring fleet was not to leave Venice until the very end of January, and the fall fleets were scheduled to depart from their Levantine ports by the middle of November. But all through December ships would be coming home through the Ionian and Adriatic Seas. Although ideally all ships would be in home port during January, in fact, according to various chroniclers and according to Jacques Heers's compilation of material from the Datini archive for 1383-1403, the arrival at Venice of galleys from Alexandria was spread between November 11 and January 24.²⁰

Even if the sea still remained closed for a brief period, which varied somewhat from place to place, the gain of a few months for navigation could be of considerable importance. Because of the nature of the prevailing winds in the eastern Mediterranean there was much advantage in being able to sail during some of the more cloudy months. Returning from Egypt, for example, vessels leaving between May and October faced almost steadily northerly and north-westerly winds. To reach Italian ports they had to take a roundabout route going first to Cyprus or at best to Rhodes, and then working west. This was the route taken in antiquity by the Roman grain ship *Isis* described by Lu-

¹⁶ R. H. Dolley, "Meteorology in the Byzantine Navy," *Mariner's Mirror*, XXXVII (No. 1, 1951), 10-13, gives weather reports about A.D. 900 from the Gulf of Iskanderun indicating local voyages there in the dead of winter.

¹⁷ MS, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni, Fronesis, 58-59.

¹⁸ Law of June 8, 1569, in *Parte prese nell'Eccellentissimo Consiglio di Pregadi con diverse leggi cavate dal Statuto in materia de navi e sua navigatione* (Venice [1644]), 17-18.

¹⁹ As is noted by Tucci, "Navigation au xvi^e siècle," 77. The prohibition was repeated in 1598, but repealed in 1600. See Alberto Tenenti, *Venezia e i corsari, 1580-1615* (Bari, 1961), 136-37.

²⁰ Jacques Heers, "Il commercio nel Mediterraneo alla fine del sec. xiv e nei primi anni del xv," *Archivio storico italiano*, CXIII (No. 2, 1955), 166. The very spotty record of arrivals, 1404-1423, in the chronicle of Antonio Morosini shows arrivals at the end of November or in December. (Gino Luzzatto, "Vi furono fiere a Venezia?" in *Studi di storia economica veneziana* [Padua, 1954], 206.) On the usual rhythm of Venetian voyages, see also Frederic C. Lane, "Ritmo e rapidità di giro d'affari nel commercio veneziano del Quattrocento," in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto* (4 vols., Milan, 1949), I, 254-58.

cian.²¹ In the fifteenth century Florentine merchant galleys also went by way of Rhodes.²² Only late in the fall, in October and November, are easterly winds to be expected off Alexandria.²³ The schedules set for the Venetian galleys in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries enabled them to take advantage of these winds. A sixteenth-century Venetian round ship, of which we have the log, returned from Alexandria by the direct route south and west of Crete, leaving October 21 and reaching Corfu November 7, 1561.²⁴ The Venetian galleys frequently left later, as we have seen, and did not reach Venice until mid-winter. On the other hand the Genoese using round ships about 1400 usually left Egypt in February or early March, taking advantage of southerly winds that blow in those months.²⁵ Both Venetians and Genoese avoided the north-west winds of the summer months. For the sake of favorable winds they took the risks of being at sea in cloudy weather.

Probably the chief economic importance of the compass in the Mediterranean was that it led to more voyages per year. In transportation between Venice and the Levant, being at sea in winter months made all the difference between two voyages a year instead of one. It enabled ships to transport twice as much each year and keep crews more continually employed. In regard to the Levantine voyages in general, it may be said that starting the spring voyages before winter was over and letting the fall voyages run into December gave sailors more favorable winds. That same schedule was selected again when convoys were established late in the seventeenth century.²⁶

The winds and clouds of the Mediterranean made the compass important in that sea especially in connection with winter navigation. Weather conditions were different in the Indian Ocean and in the waters lying to the west and north. The development of the compass did not have the same impact in those seas that it had in the Mediterranean.

In the Indian Ocean, the regularity of the monsoon winds was such that they alone sufficed to give the sailor his sense of direction.²⁷ The navigators

²¹ Lionel Casson, "The Isis and Her Voyage," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXXI (1950), 43-48.

²² Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du levant au moyen âge* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1886), II, 487; Armando Sapori, "I Primi viaggi di levante e di ponente delle galere fiorentini," *Archivio storico italiano*, CXIV (1956), 90.

²³ US Hydrographic Office, *Sailing Directions* (2d ed., Washington, D. C., 1951), IV, 241; US Hydrographic Office, Henry H. Gorringer, *Coasts and Islands of the Mediterranean Sea* (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1879), III, 284.

²⁴ Relazione di un patrizio veneto [Alessandro Magno] del viaggio di Cipro, di quell'isola, et di altri viaggi, MS. 1317.1 (V.a.259), in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.

²⁵ See Heers, "Commercio nel Mediterraneo," 170. In his *Gênes au xv^e siècle* (Paris, 1961), 300, he speaks of a "ralentissement hivernal," but says of it, "ce sont les marchands qui l'imposent aux marins, non les éléments."

²⁶ Ugo Tucci, "La Marina mercantile veneziana nel Settecento," *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato, Fondazione Giorgio Cini*, II (1960), 5.

²⁷ Denoix, "Problèmes de navigation," 132.

who crossed the open sea between India and Arabia had no need of a compass in order to steer their course. They were favored by constant winds and by clear skies at least during the season of favorable winds. For voyages ranging north and south from Persia to Zanzibar, the Arabs learned how to find their latitude from the stars. When Marco Polo, Fra Mauro, and Niccolò de Conti report that the navigators of the Indian Ocean did not use the magnetic compass, even in the fifteenth century, but depended on the polar star, we can take that as evidence, not that the Arabs had never heard of the mariner's compass, but that the compass was not of practical importance in the Indian Ocean. It was not much needed to find direction, and position was determined less by dead reckoning with compass and chart than by stellar observation.²⁸ "Under clear tropical skies . . . the celestial bodies nearly always give sufficient guidance."²⁹

If cloud, fog, and rain were what made the compass important, its use might be expected to revolutionize the methods of navigation in the often overcast seas of Northern Europe. But the North Sea and the Baltic are both shallow, and in those waters seamen found their way by knowledge of the sea's floor. A lead covered with tallow was lowered to bring up a sample of sand or mud as well as to learn the depth. The experienced ship captain could find his way by lead and line. The same method had long been used in the Mediterranean where possible. Herodotus mentions its use by ships approaching the Nile Delta, and the medieval portolan books describe its use in the upper Adriatic. But off the coast of Syria or of Liguria a ship would very quickly be out of soundings; most of the Mediterranean is too deep to be navigated by lead and line. The contrast between the Mediterranean and the Baltic in this respect is obvious on any modern map which shows the one-hundred-fathom line. Its significance for the navigator is spelled out on the fifteenth-century map of Fra Mauro where a legend north of Germany reads: "In this sea they do not navigate by compass and chart but by soundings."³⁰

As in his reference to the navigation of the Indian Ocean, Fra Mauro may be understood to mean, not that the compass was unknown in the Baltic, but that it was not in common use there. Whether the Vikings used a magne-

²⁸ Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 123-28.

²⁹ George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton, N. J., 1951), 109; cf. Alan John Villiers, *Monsoon Seas* (New York, 1952), 56. A similar conclusion regarding medieval methods of navigation in the Indian Ocean was presented to the session of the Sixth International Conference on Maritime History, Venice, September 1962, by Michel Mollat in reporting on the session of the Sixth International Conference on Maritime History that had met in July 1962 at Lourenço Marquês. In the session at Lourenço Marquês the Commandant Teixeira da Mota presented a thoroughgoing study of navigation in the Indian Ocean. The proceedings of the session at Lourenço Marquês will be published at Lisbon; those of the session at Venice will be published by the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice.

³⁰ Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 21-29, 35, 107, 131.

tized needle to find north is a matter of dispute. Leo Bagrow, founding editor of the cartographic journal *Imago Mundi*, believed that they did;³¹ G. J. Marcus firmly asserts that they did not, that the long voyages of the Irish and Norse in the North Atlantic are evidence of the relative unimportance of the compass, proof that no compass was needed to embolden seamen to sail out of sight of land. His evidence regarding the Norse voyages seems conclusive. Indeed, the opinion that the Norse used a compass seems to lean too heavily on the mere assumption that they could not have made such long voyages without it and the fact that loadstones were exported from Scandinavia.³² But although the Norse voyages to America were made by taking directions from the skies, compasses became known in the north in the thirteenth century, and after 1300 contemporary chronicles no longer contain references to ships that had completely lost their bearings, as was common in the earlier sagas.³³ The compass became a useful auxiliary to soundings, while the latter remained the chief reliance of the navigator in the north. The supreme importance of the sounding line as late as 1449 is illustrated by the case of a Danzig ship bound for Lisbon that was placed under arrest in Plymouth, England. To prevent it from trying to leave, it was deemed sufficient to take away the ship's lead and line.³⁴

The addition of a compass to the equipment of the vessels sailing the waters west and north of Europe made less difference, therefore, than has commonly been supposed. But some of the sailing routes passed off the continental shelf and were out of soundings. The most important commercially was the crossing from Cape Finisterre, Spain, to England or the Channel. How an accurate compass bearing for this voyage was to be combined with soundings is set forth in the oldest English book of sailing directions, compiled in the mid-fifteenth century on the basis of earlier materials. Somewhat condensed and modernized in language it reads as follows: "When you come out of Spain, and when you are at Cape Finisterre set your course north north-east. When you reckon you are two thirds of the way across [to England] if you are bound for the Severn you should go north by east until you come into soundings. If you then find 100 fathoms deep or 90, then go north until you sound again [and find] at 72 fathoms fair gray sand. And that is the ridge that

³¹ Leo Bagrow, *Die Geschichte der Kartographie* (Berlin, 1951), 48.

³² This seems to me the gist of the arguments reported by Edmund O. von Lippman, *Geschichte der Magnetenadel bis zur Erfindung des Kompasses gegen 1300* (Berlin, 1932), 39-42. Cf. *Isis*, XIX (Pt. 3, 1933), 441; see also Heinrich Winter, "Who Invented the Compass?" *Mariner's Mirror*, XXIII (No. 1, 1937), 95-102.

³³ Marcus, "Mariner's Compass," 17-20, "The Early Norse Traffic to Iceland," *Mariner's Mirror*, XLVI (No. 3, 1960), 179 n., and "Hafvilla, A Note on Norse Navigation," *Speculum*, XXX (No. 4, 1955), 601-605; see also Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 65-85, and Denoix, "Problèmes de navigation," 131-32.

³⁴ Marcus, "Mariner's Compass," 24.

lieth between Cape Clear [Ireland] and [the] Scilly [Islands]. Then go north until you come into soundings of ooze, and then set your course East North East or else East and by North. . . ." These directions for combining a look at the sea's floor with compass bearings suggest how helpful the compass could be, especially in an overcast, when crossing outside the feared rocks of Brittany on the way from Spain and the Mediterranean to England and the Netherlands.³⁵

A trade route of less commercial importance which also went out of soundings and in whose development the compass was "a prime factor" was that from England to Iceland. There is explicit mention of "needle and stone" on the ships making this voyage from Bristol. Compasses were also used on fishing vessels operating far out in the Atlantic.³⁶

Navigation throughout the winter in the Mediterranean and safer voyages from the Mediterranean around Spain to England and the Netherlands appear to have been the main immediate advantages from the development of the compass. It is significant that the evidence for both of these advances comes in the closing decades of the thirteenth century. The first evidence of commercial voyages directly from the Mediterranean into the English Channel are the contracts made by Genoese galley masters in 1277 and 1278.³⁷ No doubt Basque, Galician, and Portuguese sailors were familiar earlier with the Bay of Biscay, but it seems significant that a large expansion of the Portuguese trade with the north falls under King Dinis who reigned from 1279 to 1325.³⁸ When the Venetian Senate in 1314 offered a subsidy to Venetian galleys that would make the voyage to Flanders, it was a sort of testimonial to the relative security of the route.³⁹

After a survey of the notarial cartularies of Pisa, David Herlihy concludes that the opening of the seas in winter began in the Mediterranean just about 1280. Even as late as 1272-1274 he found trade following "heavily," as he put it, "the rhythm of the seasons," whereas already in the years before 1284 this rhythm ceased to be clearly reflected in the cartularies. Ships left all year around.⁴⁰

Neither at Venice nor at Genoa have the notarial registers for the period

³⁵ Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 135; Marcus, "Mariner's Compass," 23-24.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 21-23.

³⁷ Renée Doehaerd, "Les Galères gènoises dans la Manche et la Mer du Nord à la fin du xiii^e et au début du xiv^e siècles," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, XIX (1938), 10; Alwyn A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600* (Oxford, Eng., 1951), 19-21. For the commercial reasons why these voyages began at this time, see Robert S. Lopez, "Majorcans and Genoese on the North Sea Route in the Thirteenth Century," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XXIX (No. 4, 1951), 1163-79.

³⁸ Bailey W. Diffie, *Prelude to Empire: Portugal Overseas before Henry the Navigator* (Lincoln, Neb., 1960), 33-48.

³⁹ Frederic C. Lane, "Venetian Merchant Galleys, 1300-1334, Private and Communal Operation," to be published in *Speculum*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1963).

⁴⁰ Herlihy, *Pisa*, 107-108.

been analyzed from this viewpoint, but at Venice the regulations for convoys show the change beginning in the 1290's and completed when a new set of regulations was issued in 1302-1303 after the conclusion of the Second Genoese War. In 1283-1288 the dates for the opening of the port were set between March 9 and April 15.⁴¹ In 1290 and 1291 it was fixed at February 18;⁴² in 1292 the port was declared open on January 12. A change decreed in 1292 in the laws governing commercial investments in *colleganze* was desirable, so said the preamble, because two voyages a year were being made instead of one. The use of a new type of vessel for commercial voyages, a larger type of galley, was the reason given for ability to make two voyages a year instead of one.⁴³ No doubt the new schedule of voyages required faster ships, or ships less entirely dependent on the winds. Necessary also was a commercial organization permitting a quick turn-around. Even so, ships had to leave for the first voyage before the winter was finished and returned from the second after winter had set in again.⁴⁴

In short, those changes in European shipping services that can most reasonably be associated with the invention of the compass fall in the period 1270-1300. Significantly, this is also the period in which we find the first clear reference to the use of nautical charts and navigational tables, and the period to which is assigned the oldest of these charts, the *carta Pisana*. It is just a few decades after the date to which Bacchisio Motzo in his fundamental study, *Il Compasso da Navigare*, assigned the composition of the master portolan, the unification of the port book for the whole Mediterranean, and the drawing of the first nautical chart of the whole sea from Gibraltar to Constantinople and Damietta.⁴⁵

I have hitherto been purposefully vague about just what I was referring to as the "invention of the compass." There were several steps in its development. As Abbott Payson Usher has shown with many examples in his *History of Mechanical Inventions*, it is useful to distinguish four stages in invention: the posing of the problem; the assemblage of the elements of a solution; the union of these elements in a new way by an act of insight which constitutes the essential "break-through"; and the critical revision and perfection of the solution. A "compass" which was no more than a magnetized needle attached to

⁴¹ *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, ed. Roberto Cessi, in *Atti delle Assemblee Costituzionali Italiane*, Accademia dei Lincei (Bologna, 1934), III, 25, 62, 103, 169, 198.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 257, 290-91, 311.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 357-58.

⁴⁴ See notes 13, 20, and 39, above. Although galleys were not sent for the spring *muda*, at least not usually after 1322, round ships made spring voyages in the 1320's, leaving sometimes in January or even possibly December, as is shown by the laws forbidding these "unarmed" vessels to load in the spring any wares reserved for the galleys. (See *Delib. dei Rogati*, ed. Cessi and Sambin, I, 242, No. 249; 264, No. 228; 469, No. 347.)

⁴⁵ *Compasso*, ed. Motzo, cited in note 2, above, xxvi-xlix.

a chip floating in a bowl of water was in use in both China and Europe in the twelfth century. But this may be said to represent only the first stage, the posing of the problem, just as the "water commanding" engine of the Marquis of Worcester or the jet fountain of Solomon des Caus is said by Usher to represent the first stage toward the invention of the steam engine. They were unsatisfactory patterns, setting minds to work to find better.⁴⁶ Other elements had to be assembled to "set the stage": the division of the horizon into thirty-two or more points and various ways of mounting the needle so that it could swing freely and yet come to rest, even on the deck of a ship at sea.

Some of the elements that went into the invention of the mariner's compass may have come from China to the West. A needle magnetized to point north and south is mentioned earlier in China than anywhere else. Already in the thirteenth century a compass of some kind with twenty-four points was important in voyages across the South China Sea.⁴⁷ But the various elements used in the compass—the magnetized needle, wind roses, and so on—probably developed independently in several regions, and there is no evidence that the Arabs put the elements together into a new and more useful combination.⁴⁸ The problems of navigating being what they were in the Indian Ocean, there was no pressing need to do so.

In the Mediterranean there was need. There we find in the treatise on the magnet written by Peter Peregrinus in 1269 descriptions of several ways of putting together magnetized needles, pivots, and arrangements to relate the needle to the points of the horizon and even the path of a ship. Peter does not, however, describe a compass in which the wind rose or compass card is

⁴⁶ Abbott Payson Usher, *A History of Mechanical Inventions* (rev. ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1954), 63–72.

⁴⁷ The magnetized needle is mentioned in China earlier than in Europe, but "As to the common story that it (the compass) had been brought from China by Arab sailors, there is no evidence whatever to support it." (Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 96.) Most Westerners agree with her, but the "story" is declared "probable" by Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, 109, and reaffirmed in the article based on Chinese sources by Li Shi-hua, "Origine de la Boussole," *Isis*, XLV (Pt. 2, 1954), 187–96. On the other hand, Gaston Wiet *et al.*, "L'évolution des techniques dans le monde musulman au moyen âge," *Journal of World History*, VI (Pt. 1, 1960), 31, make no such definite claim, saying only "nous savons que la boussole était utilisée dès le XIII^e siècle par les marins musulmans." Gabriel Ferrand, in his *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et Portugais* (3 vols., Paris, 1921–28), III, 124, concluded from the contributions to this volume, which he edited, that he could claim the wind rose for the Arabs if not the compass, but Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 15, 53–56, 98, traces the origins of the wind rose back to the Greeks. On the Norse, see notes 31–33, above. For the theory that knowledge of the magnetic needle came to Western Europe from China across Asia, see Lynn White, jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford, Eng., 1962), 132.

⁴⁸ According to Li, "Origine de la Boussole," 195, the first Arab reference to a compass is by Bailak al-Qabajaqī, who wrote about 1282 and referred to having seen it used in the Mediterranean in 1242. What Bailak describes is a floating cross of wood attached to a temporarily magnetized needle. Bailak says that in the Indian Ocean a floating fish was used. The fish suggests the Chinese floating compass, but that is no new combination. Li (194) says the "dry compass" had been invented in China, but was reintroduced from Japan as a novelty in the seventeenth century.

attached to a magnetized needle in such a manner that when placed on a pivot in a box fastened in line with the keel of the ship the card would turn as the ship changed direction, indicating always what course the ship was on.⁴⁹ Consequently there is an inclination to honor tradition and assign to a later date, about 1300, and to Amalfi the attachment of the needle to the compass card.⁵⁰ Perhaps this was part of the "critical revision" made after the essentials of the solution had been found. The evidence leaves room for doubt concerning the form taken by that "act of insight" which first related in a practical way the direction of a free-swung needle, the wind rose with thirty-two or sixty-four points, and the course of the ship.

The opening of the seas in winter about 1280 or 1290 and the safer crossing of the Bay of Biscay clearly point to the most important part of the invention having been made shortly before those dates. Indeed, it must have been made about the time when Peter Peregrinus was writing. Whether this break-through consisted indeed of the attachment of the compass rose to the needle, which may have already been in practice at sea, but was not known or not clearly understood by Peter, who was no sailor, or whether it was indeed added about 1300, seems to me problematical.⁵¹ I am inclined to follow such authorities as Konrad Kretschmer and Commandant Denoix and assign to 1300 or thereabouts the attachment of the compass card to the needle, considering it part of the revision and elaboration of the invention after the crucial break-through had occurred.⁵² There was considerable improvement in the mapping of the Mediterranean between the time of the *carta Pisana*, presumably 1270, and that of the maps which Petrus Vesconti of Genoa made about 1320 for the Venetian publicist Marino Sanuto Torsellinus. A parallel perfection of the compass seems probable.⁵³

⁴⁹ Motzo, *Compasso*, cix-cxiii.

⁵⁰ Denoix, "Problèmes de navigation," 135. An elaborate wholehearted defense of the Amalfitan tradition, considering the addition of the compass card the essential, is presented by A. d'Arrigo, "La Bussola amalfitana," in *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Navale, Napoli*, XXVI (No. 4, 1957), 247-72.

⁵¹ In his introduction to *Compasso* (cxiii-cxiv) Motzo argues that the union of needle and compass card was already made before 1269, even by 1250, since the sixty-four points of the compass used in the sailing directions would not be practical otherwise. But Motzo also gives (lxxvii) a description of a technique of combining compass and map, which he seems to think may have been used earlier, and then says it was in use when the first nautical charts were created. Recognizing the strength of the Amalfitan tradition, Motzo credits Amalfi with importance in the twelfth century in spreading the use of the magnetized needle (cxv-cxvii). Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 92, follows Motzo in putting Amalfi's importance early, in what I have called the posing of the problem.

⁵² Kretschmer (*Italienischen Portolane*, 73-81) places this improvement at Amalfi, but after reviewing the controversy about the inventor, considers it unlikely that he was named Flavio Gioia.

⁵³ Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta cartographica Africae et Aegypti* (16 vols., Cairo, 1926-51), IV. See *id.*, *Hallucinations scientifiques (les portolans)* (Leiden, 1937), 15, for his judgment that the compass was not a prerequisite or even the inspiration for the construction of the charts, but merely made their use in navigation more practical.

The essential in the process of invention must have occurred earlier, however, whether at Amalfi or elsewhere, and its practical consequences were already evident in European waters. Apart from any effects it may have had on navigation in the China seas, the use of the compass had by 1300 aided the quickening of transportation in two important respects: more and safer voyages from the Mediterranean to the English Channel and more movement of shipping in the Mediterranean during the winter months.

Southern White Protestantism at the Turn of the Century

KENNETH K. BAILEY*

DURING the last dreary days of the Confederacy, a Mississippi Methodist preacher defiantly exhorted his people: "If we cannot gain our *political*, let us establish at least our *mental* independence."¹ The preacher's plea was portentous, for the future would demonstrate that military conquest had exacted no spiritual surrender. A proud and undaunted "*mental* independence" survived and flourished among southerners—a fountain both of weakness and strength, of cohesion and of strife.²

It was in the ranks of southern Protestantism, however, that separatism thrived most conspicuously. Forty years after Appomattox, 3,500,000 of 6,200,000 white church members in the South still belonged to three explicitly southern denominations: Southern Baptist, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the (Southern) Presbyterian Church in the United States.³ Most others held membership in locally independent congregations unaffiliated with episcopate, presbytery, conference, or convention. Indeed, except in a few urban districts and in the Catholic areas of Louisiana, Texas, and Kentucky, extraregional ecclesiastical ties were almost absent.⁴ The numerically weak Episcopal and Lutheran churches were exceptions. Nor was the cleavage less apparent in content and emphasis. A New England clergyman marveled in 1900 that "one could not sit in the assembly hall of a Southern [Baptist] Convention fifteen minutes without being thoroughly convinced that he was not north of the Mason and Dixon Line";⁵ another northerner was "simply forced to the

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¹ The Reverend Robert H. Crozier of Sardis, Mississippi, wrote his exhortation in May 1865 and published it in the preface of his novel *The Confederate Spy: A History of the War of 1861* (Gallatin, Tenn., 1866), 5–6.

² Three able treatments of the southern identity are: C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, La., 1960); Francis B. Simkins, "The South," in *Regionalism in America*, ed. Merrill Jensen (Madison, Wis., 1954), 147–72; and "The Status and Future of Regionalism—A Symposium," *Journal of Southern History*, XXVI (Feb. 1960), 22–56.

³ In Oklahoma, Kentucky, and the eleven states of the former Confederacy; this included 1,820,281 Southern Baptists, 1,443,517 Southern Methodists, and approximately 230,000 Southern Presbyterians. (US Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1906* [2 pts., Washington, D. C., 1910] I, 542–63.)

⁴ *Ibid.*; 1,120,045 out of 1,398,676 southern Catholics lived in Louisiana, Texas, and Kentucky.

⁵ Frank Dixon, "Southern Baptists through Northern Eyes," in Macon, Georgia, *Christian Index*, June 28, 1900.

conclusion" that the "Northern mind is more given to skepticism than the Southern."⁶ A southerner observed that "the leaders of the Southern churches, having considered the matter, have been convinced that the religion existing among the whites of the South was of a purer form than that existing in the North."⁷

Fierce sectarian debate often obscured a consensus on fundamentals. On such precepts as heaven and hell, God and Satan, depravity and redemption, there was little dispute. Few southerners doubted the literal authenticity of the Scriptures or the ever presence of God in man's affairs.⁸ Pondering a yellow fever epidemic, in 1879, the Southern Baptist Convention appointed a Special Committee on the Fearful Scourge and adopted a report declaring in part:

How far this has been intended of God as a "terrible scourge" upon our land, we cannot attempt to say. Secret things belong unto God, and in time, no doubt, he will be his own interpreter. At the present we can only say:

God moves in a mysterious way

His wonders to perform.

And in humility we must bow our heads and our hearts, and submit to His will, who doeth all things well.⁹

In 1905 a committee of the Southern Presbyterian General Assembly attributed a series of railway accidents to the operation of trains on Sunday. "So long as the nation shows such utter disregard for His authority," the committee declared, "so long may we expect the continued repetition of these and other so-called accidents."¹⁰ It was an outlook handed down from an earlier, more primitive environment, and its continuing prevalence mirrored a general intransigence. The rural homogeneity of the South was little disturbed by immigration, industrialization, new intellectual currents, and all those other forces which were elsewhere transforming society. As in politics the ascendancy of the Democratic party seldom was challenged, so in religion orthodoxy reigned supreme. Doubters and village atheists were few.¹¹

⁶ "Skepticism in the North," in Louisville *Western Recorder*, Dec. 15, 1898.

⁷ James C. Hinton, "Educational Problems in the South," *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, V (Oct. 1883), 697.

⁸ "In spite of considerable ecclesiastical differences the theology of the South is the same in its broad essentials among all the religious groups. Whether one meets in a Quaker Meeting House in Guilford County, North Carolina, or a Methodist Church in Savannah, or in St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans, the basal religious philosophy is the same. Scratch any sectarian back and the same orthodox blood flows." (Edwin McNeill Poteat, Jr., "Religion in the South," in *Culture in the South*, ed. W. T. Couch [Chapel Hill, N. C., 1934], 261.)

⁹ Southern Baptist Convention, *Proceedings, 1879* (Atlanta, 1879), 41.

¹⁰ Presbyterian Church in the United States, General Assembly, *Minutes, 1905* (Richmond, Va., 1905), 98.

¹¹ During the famous Scopes trial at Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925, Henry L. Mencken found no local resident who doubted "so much as the typographical errors in Holy Writ." "To call a man a doubter in these parts," he averred, "is equal to accusing him of cannibalism." (*Chatanooga News*, July 11, 1925.) Religious attitudes similar to those prevailing in the South were also to be found in some nonsouthern areas, particularly in rural and small-town communities

Ecclesiastical isolation fostered intraregional accommodations between church and society. Thus, in the late nineteenth century, as racial distinctions in secular spheres were being drawn more sharply, southern Protestants busily regrouped into all-white and all-Negro denominations. Perhaps the separation resulted less from design than unplanned evolution, but it was happily observed in many quarters. As early as February 1866 a contributor to the Macon, Georgia, *Christian Index* predicted that "their [Negro] separation from the white churches is only a question of time"; later that year Negro Baptist congregations in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida organized an all-Negro Zion Association. The white Shelby County, Alabama, Baptist Association refused to receive messengers from a Negro Baptist church in 1867, and afterward advised the congregation to "wait until opportunity is afforded them of forming colored associations." In 1869 the South Carolina State Baptist Convention sanctioned "the separate organization into churches, associations and Sabbath schools of our colored brethern, when such separate organization may be desired." In 1872, for the first time, the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention explicitly excluded Negro congregations from its semiofficial statistical compilations. Finally, in 1880, a convocation representing Southern Negro Baptist churches, district associations, and state conventions met in Montgomery, Alabama, and founded the Foreign Mission Baptist Convention of the United States. The segregation of Southern Baptists into racially discrete denominations, white and Negro, was now substantially accomplished.¹²

Southern Methodism experienced a similar division. Acting under mandate of the General Conference, the white bishops convened a special Negro conference at Jackson, Tennessee, in December 1870. There the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America was organized, two Negro bishops invested, a division of property arranged, and 70,000 Negro communicants transferred from the old church to the new. By 1886 only 527 Negroes remained on the rolls of the parent church.¹³ A parallel movement among South-

in the Middle West. (See Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture* [New York, 1929], 315-31; and Lewis Atherton, *Main Street on the Middle Border* [Bloomington, Ind., 1954], 258-59.)

¹² Macon, Georgia, *Christian Index*, Feb. 24, Aug. 2, 1866; Shelby County, Alabama, Baptist Association, "Minutes, 1867" (microfilmed by Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention), 145-47, "Minutes, 1868" (microfilmed by Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention), 151; South Carolina State Baptist Convention, *Minutes, 1869* (Columbia, S. C., 1869), 307; Southern Baptist Convention, *Proceedings, 1872* (Baltimore, 1872), 76; Lewis F. Jordan, *Negro Baptist History, U.S.A.* (Nashville, n.d.), 154-71. All Negroes had not yet been removed from the rolls of predominantly white Baptist congregations. As late as 1879, for example, two of twenty-three congregations in the Mississippi Baptist Association (not to be confused with the State Baptist Convention), in southwestern Mississippi, were biracial. Ebenezer Church, in Amite County, included 40 Negroes in its total membership of 146. (Mississippi Baptist Association, *Minutes, 1879* [Natchez, Miss., 1879], 34.)

¹³ Methodist Episcopal Church, South, General Conference, *Journal, 1870* (Nashville, 1870),

ern Presbyterians prevailed in 1898, when the General Assembly approved a plan to transfer its Negro presbyteries to a new Afro-American Presbyterian Church.¹⁴ As early as 1886 the Southern Methodist bishops conjectured that not "one single colored congregation of any Church in the South [is] served regularly by a white pastor of their own election."¹⁵

What had begun as a local shuffling into all-white and all-Negro congregations had developed into denominational separation. Negroes spurned the status accorded them in biracial fellowships. The hardened white viewpoint was well articulated by the Methodist bishops, who decried all "sentimental extravagance in the direction of the discolored current of social equality, through the agency of the schoolroom, the congregation, or the Conference; for there is no conceivable result that would compensate for the crime against nature this theory deliberately contemplates."¹⁶ "We must insist," echoed the Mississippi State Baptist Convention of 1891, "that they [Negroes] are distinct, for their good and our's [*sic*]. To do otherwise is to inflict an evil on them and to raise an insurmountable barrier to success."¹⁷ "Theories of race were as much a part of Southern Baptist thinking as the Virgin Birth or the Second Coming," one student declares.¹⁸

The outlook in the North was much the same; segregation was the rule and integration the exception throughout the nation. Yet Negroes perceived differences when they crossed the Mason-Dixon line. In the South the color barrier was more precise and the animus aroused by small transgressions more violent and intense. The tide that swept the popular southern churches still worked itself out at the turn of the century. Denominational separation preceded and paralleled movements to compel racial segregation into separate schools, separate railway coaches, separate burying grounds, to exclude Negroes from the ballot, and to deny them vocational opportunities previously afforded.¹⁹

But central as were ecclesiastical independence and racial segregation to

183; *Journal*, 1874 (Nashville, 1874), 459, 523; *Journal*, 1886 (Nashville, 1886), 18.

¹⁴ Presbyterian Church in the United States, General Assembly, *Minutes*, 1898 (Richmond, Va., 1898), 272. All Negro congregations did not transfer to the new church, however. In 1916 the two presbyteries of the Afro-American Presbyterian Church returned to the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The General Assembly merged them with two other all-Negro presbyteries to form the Snedecor Memorial Synod. Negro congregations in predominantly white presbyteries were now transferred to this segregated jurisdiction. (Presbyterian Church in the United States, General Assembly, *Minutes*, 1916 [Richmond, Va., 1916], 33; *Minutes*, 1917 [Richmond, Va., 1917], 30.)

¹⁵ Methodist Episcopal Church, South, General Conference, *Journal*, 1886, 18.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Mississippi State Baptist Convention, *Proceedings*, 1891 (Jackson, Miss., 1891), 22.

¹⁸ Rufus B. Spain, "Attitudes and Reactions of Southern Baptists to Certain Problems of Society, 1865-1900," doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1961, 201.

¹⁹ For penetrating studies of these movements, see C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1957), 13-96, and Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901* (New York, 1954).

the southern religious ethos, neither shaped the popular churches so much as an all-pervading poverty. In a region lacking adequate resources either for public education or ministerial training, both leadership and response carried the stamp of intellectual backwardness. Episcopalians and Presbyterians required a seminary degree for clerical ordination, but other denominations often prescribed nothing more than a call from God. Baptist congregations administering ordination seldom demanded formal schooling. Southern Methodists asked only that candidates be familiar with the Bible, "the ordinary branches of an English education," and John Wesley's sermons "Justification by Faith" and "The Witness of the Spirit"; preachers thus licensed "on trial," however, had to complete a four-year correspondence course before final ordination.²⁰ Professor F. C. Woodward of Wofford College complained in 1886 that "a man may enter the [Methodist] itinerant ranks without giving to preparation for his great work as much time and pains as would be required to make him a journeyman carpenter! Numbers do . . . who cannot write a complex sentence, or understand it when written. . . ."²¹ In 1907 the Nashville *Christian Advocate* lamented that many Methodist clergymen were "totally ignorant" of twentieth-century civilization.²² As late as 1927 only 4 per cent of the Southern Methodist clergy were seminary graduates, only 11 per cent had college degrees, and approximately 32 per cent had no schooling beyond the elementary level.²³ Nor was there often time in the pastor's crowded routine for extensive independent study. A survey published in 1923 estimated that more than one out of three southern clergymen served four or more churches.²⁴ Even so, many shared the experience of a Navarro County, Texas, preacher who had to "raise a little cotton" to supplement his clerical earnings. A Baptist leader complained that Baptist rural churches had "won for themselves the pitiful distinction of paying an average wage which is less than a capable field laborer now earns."²⁵

Lack of preparation was hardly a handicap in the southern ministry, or so Woodward believed. He grumbled that the Southern Methodist Church

²⁰ *Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1898* (Nashville, 1898), 287-89.

²¹ F. C. Woodward, "Methodism and Ministerial Education," *Southern Methodist Review*, I (Nov. 1886), 212.

²² "Who Is to Blame?" in Nashville *Christian Advocate*, Oct. 18, 1907.

²³ "An Episcopal Address: A Better Prepared Ministry," *ibid.*, June 24, 1927. A special Southern Baptist Convention committee on theological education estimated in 1949 that one-third of the Southern Baptist clergy "never went beyond high school." (Southern Baptist Convention, *Book of Reports, 1949* [Nashville, 1949], 310.)

²⁴ Edmund Brunner, *Church Life in the Rural South* (New York, 1923), 60.

²⁵ Dallas *Baptist Standard*, July 10, 1902; Victor I. Masters, *Country Church in the South* (Atlanta, 1917), 131.

"keeps a suspicious eye on its educated young men, but seems to think that ignorance and weakness . . . can be entirely trusted with the charge and oversight of others."²⁶ The 1906 address of the college of bishops seemed to support this arraignment: "Those who look to the pulpit for spiritual guidance want the authoritative statement of infallible truth, and not the methods of critical research or the varied phases of theological inquiry," the bishops proclaimed.²⁷ One writer warned in 1887 that "whenever the day comes that the Methodist Church requires a college course as conditional to admittance to the traveling [preaching] connection, that day will sound the death-knell of the Church." "Send out men whose hearts are hot with love to God," he urged, ". . . and the Holy Ghost will use them to the pulling down of the strongholds of sin and the upbuilding of the kingdom of God and his Christ."²⁸ The Baptist *Christian Index* approvingly likened the reaction of a congregation to an "earnest" extempore preacher to that between steel and flint—"the sparks fly in all directions."²⁹

Despite such sentiment, Southern Methodists and Baptists both sponsored a theological seminary, the Methodist theological school at Vanderbilt University and the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, in Louisville. Southern Presbyterians sponsored four seminaries: Union Theological Seminary (Worsham, Virginia), Columbia (South Carolina) Theological Seminary, Southwestern (Tennessee) Theological Seminary, and the Louisville Theological Seminary. With the exception of Vanderbilt, however, all lacked substantial endowments or other reliable sources of revenue. And all had to contend with a stifling popular distrust of scholarship. Where academic inquiry intruded in the realm of faith, ancient myth was often acclaimed over present truth; this was well illustrated in four celebrated cases.

The first case involved Alexander Winchell, the noted naturalist, who held an appointment as special lecturer at Vanderbilt. Winchell contradicted the account in Genesis of creation in a book entitled *Pre-Adamites*, published in 1878.³⁰ Seeking to avoid controversy, Vanderbilt officials discreetly asked for his resignation. When he refused, the board of trust promptly abolished his lectureship "to make practical and needed advances in other departments." Church and university officials did not deny the relevance of Winchell's pronouncements to the board's action, although considerations of economy and efficiency were stressed. The Nashville *Christian Advocate* told

²⁶ Woodward, "Methodism and Ministerial Education," 216.

²⁷ Methodist Episcopal Church, South, General Conference, *Journal*, 1906 (Nashville, n.d.), 40.

²⁸ W. T. Bolling, "Methodism and Ministerial Education," *Southern Methodist Review*, II (Mar. 1887), 58-59.

²⁹ Macon, Georgia, *Christian Index*, Feb. 6, 1890.

³⁰ Edwin Mims, *History of Vanderbilt University* (Nashville, 1946), 100-102.

how the lectureship "jostled the schedule," was "sort of a fifth wheel," "threw classes and students . . . out of joint."³¹

But talk of reorganization neither misled nor placated the scientist. It was, Winchell insisted, "a dismissal from office on account of heresy," "ecclesiastical proscription for an opinion which must be settled by scientific evidence." He would be "delighted" if the incident stirred wide controversy, which indeed it did.³² *Popular Science Monthly* scolded the board for "bigotry, intolerance, and proscription" and complained that the "stupid Southern Methodists that control the university, it seems, can learn nothing."³³ In the 1896 edition of his monumental *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, Andrew D. White portrayed the Vanderbilt episode as one of the "last expiring convulsions of the old theologic theory."³⁴ Obviously the university's action comported with official Southern Methodist pronouncements. Earlier that year the General Conference pointedly censured those "prominent" scientists who "are bending all the energies of their most exalted genius to the inculcation of theories which are calculated, if not designed, to destroy the credibility of the Holy Scriptures."³⁵

Presbyterians reacted similarly toward James Woodrow, uncle of Woodrow Wilson and professor at the Columbia Theological Seminary. In an address in 1884 Woodrow argued that the theory of evolution could be reconciled with a "not unreasonable interpretation of the Bible" if man's soul were attributed to special creation. He suggested that evolution be construed as "God's PLAN OF CREATION," a "wondrous series of events, caused and controlled by the power and wisdom of the Lord God Almighty. . . ."³⁶

A rancorous debate ensued and was carried into the General Assembly of 1886, where Woodrow personally defended his position. But to no avail. By vote of sixty-five to twenty-seven, this highest church tribunal adjudged his statements "repugnant to the Word of God and to our Confession of Faith" and recommended that his professorial appointment be terminated. Seminary trustees then proceeded to dismiss him. Further clarification came from the assembly of 1888: "It is the judgment of this General Assembly

³¹ Nashville *Christian Advocate*, July 13, 1878.

³² Nashville *Daily American*, June 16, 1878.

³³ *Popular Science Monthly*, XIII (Aug. 1878), 492-95.

³⁴ Andrew D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (2 vols., New York, 1896), I, 85.

³⁵ Methodist Episcopal Church, South, General Conference, *Journal*, 1878 (Nashville, 1878), 159. Hunter Farish finds that "despite the illiberal utterances occasioned by the Winchell incident, little tendency to heresy hunting was manifested among the Southern Methodists during the remainder of the century. . . ." (Hunter Farish, *The Circuit Rider Dismounts: A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900* [Richmond, Va., 1938], 297.)

³⁶ James Woodrow, "Evolution," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, XXXV (July 1884), 341-68.

that Adam's body was directly fashioned by Almighty God of the dust of the Ground, without any natural animal parentage of any kind."³⁷

The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was embroiled in two such controversies, the first in 1879, when Professor Crawford H. Toy resigned. Toy's resignation followed complaints about his teachings, which purportedly impugned the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. A committee of the board of trustees scrutinized his written statement of views, interrogated him verbally, and then unanimously recommended that his resignation be accepted. Approval of this recommendation by the full board drew praise from the denominational press. "Under the circumstances," the Macon, Georgia, *Christian Index* declared, "it was manifestly right for him to tender his resignation, and equally so for the Board of Trustees to accept." "Our denomination will arm itself against this crusade of vainglorious scholarship," asserted the *Alabama Baptist*: "The fortunes of the kingdom of Jesus Christ are not dependent upon German born vagaries." The Cincinnati *Journal and Messenger* agreed that "no man can maintain good standing in a Baptist Theological Seminary who does not find more of Christ in the prophecies of Isaiah than Prof. Toy does. Baptists greatly prefer the doctrines of Philip and Paul, and Jesus, to those of Prof. Toy." The Richmond *Religious Herald* rejoiced that Toy's successor "is well known and universally loved" and that "there was no risk involved in his appointment."³⁸

The reaction of two dissenting trustees was decidedly different. In a strongly worded statement, they chided the board majority for acting precipitously and praised Toy for his "intellectual courage" and "beautiful pattern of loyalty to God's truth." The dissenters also sounded a "sigh and cry for more independence and freedom of thought in the study of the Scriptures" and begged that the seminary not become a mere "manufactory of theological music boxes, all shaped and pitched alike to give forth an unvariable number of invariable tunes." Another Baptist grumbled that Toy had been "guillotined" by a "petrified orthodoxy."³⁹

A second altercation two decades later centered around the president of the seminary, William Heth Whitsitt. Like Toy, Whitsitt was an alumnus of the school, and, like Toy, he had joined the faculty after completing advanced study in Germany. His difficulties in the denomination grew out

³⁷ Presbyterian Church in the United States, General Assembly, *Minutes, 1886* (Columbia, S. C., 1886), 42; *Minutes, 1888* (Richmond, Va., 1888), 399. For a stimulating treatment of the Woodrow episode, see Clement Eaton, "Professor James Woodrow and the Freedom of Teaching in the South," *Journal of Southern History*, XXVIII (Feb. 1962), 3-17.

³⁸ Richmond *Religious Herald*, May 22, 1879. The *Christian Index* and the *Journal and Messenger* were quoted in the Greenville, South Carolina, *Baptist Courier*, May 29, June 19, 1879; the *Alabama Baptist* was quoted in the Memphis *Baptist*, May 5, 1880.

³⁹ Greenville, South Carolina, *Baptist Courier*, June 19, 1879, May 6, 1880.

of a historical study of early Baptists, which he pursued for many years in the United States and abroad. He first revealed some of his findings in an address at the seminary, in 1880, and subsequently published them in the *Independent* and in a book entitled *A Question in Baptist History*.⁴⁰

Whitsitt prefaced his book with bold assertions that immersion was the only mode of Christian baptism in the New Testament era. "That," he wrote, "is a closed question; it does not admit of being opened among Baptist people." But, having so faithfully affirmed his orthodoxy on this crucial point, he proceeded to recite evidence that the antecedents of American Baptists had erroneously baptized by sprinkling. "Few Anabaptists of any country were immersionists," he concluded, and none of the English Anabaptists immersed before 1641. Moreover, he declared, "within the limits of the uncertainty which is freely acknowledged, the weight appears to incline very clearly towards the view that Roger Williams was sprinkled and not immersed at Providence in 1639." If these conclusions were not to be drawn from the evidence, then "it is useless to prosecute historical investigations of any sort. We may as well close the books, and proceed to evolve our historical conclusions entirely from our own consciousness without any reference to the events that have taken place in the world."⁴¹

But the evidence left many Baptists unconvinced. Anguished outcries arose from a powerful Landmark faction led by James R. Graves, editor of the *Memphis Baptist*. Landmarkists stressed the congregational structure of the denomination and held aloof from cooperative church enterprises. Foremost of all they emphasized the exclusive correctness of Baptist doctrines and their claim of an unbroken succession of Baptist congregations practicing immersion back to the time of Christ.⁴² "Protestant historians frankly admit that Baptist churches are the only religious communities that have stood since the apostles, and as Christian societies, which have preserved pure the doctrine of the gospel through all ages," Graves asserted in 1870. "There is no church but a body of immersed believers who have been immersed by a duly appointed officer of a Scriptural church." Thus the continuity of immersing Baptist congregations was a belief as vital to Landmarkism as the apostolic succession to Catholicism. As early as 1880 Graves charged Whitsitt with heresy and served notice that "we do not want German Rationalism and infidelity taught to our young ministers."⁴³

⁴⁰ William O. Carver, "William Heth Whitsitt: The Seminary's Martyr," *Review and Expositor*, LI (Oct. 1954), 449-69.

⁴¹ William Heth Whitsitt, *A Question in Baptist History* (Louisville, 1896), 5, 48, 127, 164.

⁴² James R. Graves, *Old Landmarkism: What Is It?* (Texarkana, Texas, 1928), 140-41, 228.

⁴³ *Memphis Baptist*, Jan. 8, 1870, May 12, 1880.

Nevertheless, Whitsitt retained his professorship and was chosen president of the seminary in 1895. Among other apparent aspirants overlooked by the trustees was the Reverend Thomas T. Eaton, pastor of the Louisville Walnut Street Baptist Church, editor of the *Western Recorder*, and chief Landmark spokesman since Graves's death in 1893.⁴⁴ Eaton made no attempt to conceal his disgruntlement. "We in America are fast drifting toward a state of things which has long existed in Germany, where the freedom of theological professors is complete," he complained. "A man who is an atheist may be a professor of theology in Germany, and it is all right. We have not reached that point in this country, but we are drifting in that direction." He published an article declaring that "whoever attempts to prove that the church system of the New Testament has ever been extinct . . . is neither a good Baptist nor a safe logician, however skilled in history." One contributor to the *Western Recorder* charged that anyone denying the historical continuity of Baptist churches practicing immersion "is an infidel."⁴⁵

Strong words were accompanied by equally strong deeds. In 1897 the Kentucky State Baptist Association formally demanded Whitsitt's resignation, and the following year voted to withhold support from the school as long as he continued in office. At least five other state organizations and numerous district associations took similar action. Reacting to the protests, seminary trustees summoned the harassed president to elucidate his historical findings before them, in 1897. "I can do no otherwise than to reaffirm my position," he told the board. "But if in the future it should ever be made to appear that I have erred in my conclusions I would promptly and cheerfully say so. I am a searcher after truth. . . ." The board voted to retain him in office, declaring itself unqualified to "sit in judgment on questions in Baptist history." Again, in 1898, Whitsitt was re-elected, but this time the board equivocated by setting up a special committee to exercise continuous surveillance over the school.⁴⁶

It had become apparent, however, that Whitsitt's attackers would settle for nothing short of unconditional surrender; indeed, it now seemed clear that they would strive to destroy the seminary if he continued as its head. Nor could their power in the Southern Baptist Convention be ignored. In 1898 the convention refused to fill vacancies on the board of trustees, appointing instead a committee to study the advisability "of changing the present

⁴⁴ Eaton and Whitsitt were among three prospects formally considered by the board. (Carver, "William Heth Whitsitt," 463.)

⁴⁵ Louisville *Western Recorder*, June 16, 28, 1898.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, June 23, July 7, 1898; Memphis *Baptist and Reflector*, May 12, 1897, May 26, June 30, 1898; T. A. Patterson, "The Theology of J. R. Graves and Its Influence on Southern Baptist Life," doctoral dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1944, 270-76.

relation of the Convention to the Seminary." The Reverend B. H. Carroll of Waco, Texas (later president of the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary), announced he would sponsor a move at the next convention to terminate "the slight and remote bond of connection between this body and the Seminary."⁴⁷

Stung by the ferocity of the attack, Whitsitt reluctantly decided to yield. On July 13, 1898, he submitted his resignation, effective at the close of the 1898-1899 session. "We have learned with much satisfaction of the resignation of Dr. Whitsitt," a resolution of the Mississippi State Baptist Convention declared. "Accepting his resignation as a fact in good faith, we deem this an opportune time to reaffirm our loyalty to the Seminary and pledge to it our most hearty support." A Texas Baptist rejoiced that "sentiment and help will again flow as a current toward the Seminary." Eaton suggested "it might be well that the trustees should meet immediately and accept his resignation." Although the trustees ignored Eaton's advice, they did accept the resignation at their regular meeting the following spring. Thus was harmony restored between the seminary, the Southern Baptist Convention, and state and district Baptist associations. The convention committee designated to consider "changing the present relation of the Convention to the Seminary" made no recommendation; Carroll announced he no longer favored withdrawing Baptist sponsorship from the school.⁴⁸

Of course faculty removals for doctrinal unorthodoxy were not a peculiarly southern eccentricity. But the actions against Winchell, Woodrow, Toy, and Whitsitt—involving as they did the highest authority in all three major white denominations—evidenced a general and concerted reluctance to re-examine traditional precepts. It was the degree of consensus on such issues that distinguished the South. Little-educated clergymen nurtured and perpetuated the consensus, as did ecclesiastical structures wherein the laity exercised a powerful voice. Among both clergy and rank and file there was an awesome reverence for the Bible, literally construed, and a hypersensitivity toward any subversion of hallowed beliefs.⁴⁹

If little attention was given to newer theological interpretations, even less was given to the application of Christian teachings to the social milieu. A Baptist historian finds that editors of Baptist journals in the southeastern states failed during this era "to perceive any relation between Christian moral-

⁴⁷ Southern Baptist Convention, *Annual*, 1898 (Atlanta, n.d.), 23, 34.

⁴⁸ *Memphis Baptist and Reflector*, July 21, Sept. 8, 1898; Louisville *Western Recorder*, July 21, 1898; Southern Baptist Convention, *Annual*, 1899 (Atlanta, n.d.), 18.

⁴⁹ "It seems an inescapable inference," one writer declares, "that in the sphere of religion the Southerner has always been hostile to the spirit of inquiry." (R. M. Weaver, "The Older Religiousness in the South," *Sewanee Review*, LI [Apr.-June 1943], 248.)

ity and economic justice" and "showed little compassion toward industrial employees."⁵⁰ This was surely true of an analysis published in the Georgia Baptist *Christian Index*, in 1900:

The majority of the poor, "the submerged tenth," the begrimed masses who swarm in the slums and wretched tenement houses of our large cities, some of whom are also found in the smaller towns and even in the country, are dissipated, vicious, wicked and immoral. Many reformers of the day teach that, if you improve their surroundings and educate them, you can lift them up. Far be it from me to discourage any efforts along this line of work; but what these people need is to be made over again. There is but one power in the world that can do this, and that is the gospel of the Son of God.⁵¹

Only in matters relating to pious conduct did southern churchmen strive often to influence public policy before 1900. Hunter Farish observes that most Southern Methodist reform endeavors "were directed against participation in those 'worldly' amusements which, though not specifically condemned by the Scriptures, were yet believed to be conducive to immorality."⁵² Rufus B. Spain finds that Southern Baptists "occasionally called for the assistance of government in promoting personal purity through prohibitive laws," but that they were "usually apathetic toward organized reform movements."⁵³ As early as 1878 the Southern Presbyterian General Assembly called for a "concert of Christian effort to abate or remove violations of the holy Sabbath by Sunday railroad trains, steamers, mails, etc.," and commended "legislation of the civil commonwealths" in this area.⁵⁴ Southern Methodists and Baptists held aloof from the campaign for more stringent Sabbatical laws, but joined Presbyterians in the 1880's in advocating legal prohibition. Lynching, gambling, and divorce laws also drew the attention of religious editors and church convocations.⁵⁵ But any broad attention to social reform was yet to come.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Carl D. English, "The Ethical Emphases of the Editors of Baptist Journals Published in the Southeastern Region of the United States, 1865-1915," doctoral dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1948, 248, 285.

⁵¹ T. M. Galphin, "Christianity and Temporal Prosperity," in Macon, Georgia, *Christian Index*, Aug. 30, 1900.

⁵² Farish, *Circuit Rider Dismounts*, 369.

⁵³ Spain, "Attitudes and Reactions of Southern Baptists," 317, 363.

⁵⁴ Presbyterian Church in the United States, General Assembly, *Minutes*, 1878 (Wilmington, N. C., 1878), 641-42.

⁵⁵ Methodist leaders were especially courageous and outspoken in opposing lynchings. Southern Presbyterians and Baptists also spoke out against mob activity, although Spain finds that "the remedies for lynching offered by Baptists were almost apologies for mob action." In 1906, for example, the Southern Baptist Convention condemned lynching, but took pains to affirm that "our condemnation is due with equal emphasis, and in many cases with much greater emphasis, against the horrible crimes which cause the lynchings." (Farish, *Circuit Rider Dismounts*, 227-29; Spain, "Attitudes and Reactions of Southern Baptists," 338; Presbyterian Church in the United States, General Assembly, *Minutes*, 1899 [Richmond, Va., 1899], 431; Methodist Episcopal Church, South, General Conference, *Journal*, 1886, 199; Southern Baptist Convention, *Proceedings*, 1886 [Atlanta, 1886], 33; *Annual*, 1906 [Nashville, n.d.], 33.) The contributions of religious denominations to education in the South were vital. At the turn of the century, 13,859 of 26,237 students attending southern universities, colleges, and schools of technology were

"Our Church is strictly a religious and in no wise a political body," the Southern Methodist bishops reiterated in 1894. "The more closely we keep ourselves to the one work of testifying to all men repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, the better shall we promote the highest good of our country and race."⁵⁷

Essentially, religious thought in the South had changed little since the era of frontier revivalism. An almost single-minded emphasis on individual regeneration remained. Sermons abounded in expositions on salvation, the joys of heaven, and the horrors of hell; often they were a recital of the clergyman's "personal emotional experience and nothing else."⁵⁸ A Baptist leader complained that "with gratifying but all-too-few exceptions, our country preachers confine themselves largely to evangelistic sermons."⁵⁹ In an address before the Southern Baptist Convention in 1899 George W. Truett, pastor of the Dallas First Baptist Church and a renowned pulpit orator, belittled ministers who expounded "philosophy, or science, or culture, or wordly wisdom." "Sooner far," he declared, "let us commend to the lips of a famished child a painted

enrolled in church related institutions. Southern Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian leaders opposed public education in the 1870's and early 1880's, but had become advocates of tax-supported elementary schools by the turn of the century. "All schools, whether public or private, that will ensure the partial education at least of every child should be encouraged," declared the Nashville *Christian Advocate*, in 1907. "The battle against ignorance is on, and the Church is ready to join the State in any campaign that will result in the wiping out of the disgrace of illiteracy." "God believes in education," a commission of the Southern Baptist Convention proclaimed in 1913. But endorsements of public schools were frequently coupled with demands that they operate under a religious influence. (US Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1899-1900* [2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1901], II, 1878-79, 1904-23, 1944-53; Spain, "Attitudes and Reactions of Southern Baptists," 70; Presbyterian Church in the United States, General Assembly, *Minutes, 1871* [Columbia, S. C., 1871], 17; Methodist Episcopal Church, South, General Conference, *Journal, 1874*, 385; *Journal, 1886*, 23; Nashville *Christian Advocate*, Sept. 27, 1907; Southern Baptist Convention, *Annual, 1913* [Nashville, n.d.], 60.)

⁵⁶ Southern churches rapidly expanded their social reform interests in the decade preceding our entry into World War I. Southern Methodists and Presbyterians affiliated with the reform-oriented Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and the Southern Methodist General Conference adopted the council's controversial social creed as a denominational statement. A milder "United Declaration on Christian Faith and Social Service" was promulgated by the Southern Presbyterian General Assembly in 1914. The Southern Baptist Convention did not affiliate with the Federal Council or adopt a social creed, but did designate a social service commission in 1913 to deal with "wrongs which curse society today, and call loudly for our help"; in 1915, the commission condemned crowded tenements, sweatshops, the improper use of child and woman labor, "heartless greed in corporate wealth and graft in politics." Yet southern Protestant churches remained very much houses of worship. (Methodist Episcopal Church, South, General Conference, *Journal, 1914* [Nashville, n.d.], 249-50; Presbyterian Church in the United States, General Assembly, *Minutes, 1914* [Richmond, Va., 1914], 28, 115, 162-63; Southern Baptist Convention, *Annual, 1913*, 76; *Annual, 1915* [Nashville, n.d.], 83.)

⁵⁷ Methodist Episcopal Church, South, General Conference, *Journal, 1894* (Nashville, n.d.), 34-35. Methodist and other southern Protestant churches scrutinized the conduct of their members and often reprimanded or purged from their rolls communicants whose behavior they considered to be unchristian. Drinking, cursing, Sabbath desecration, and participation in "worldly amusements" were the offenses against which discipline was most frequently invoked.

⁵⁸ Brunner, *Church Life in the Rural South*, 74.

⁵⁹ Masters, *Country Church*, 99.

glass, filled with painted water . . . or to a heartbroken mother a poem on the north pole. . . ." He ridiculed "screaming voices which propose to adjust discordant elements in both church and state," "the great itch abroad in the land demanding 'reform,' " and insisted that the message of the church must be the simple message of personal redemption through Jesus Christ.⁶⁰ Similarly, in 1902, the Southern Methodist bishops eulogized early leaders of their church, noting that they had not been "hindered in their work by a seeming obligation to instruct the people in philosophy and science and all sociological problems as platform lecturers. . . ."⁶¹

Popular hymns warned of the uncertainty of human existence. A hymn in the official Southern Methodist *Hymnal* cautioned that:

Death rides on every passing breeze,
And lurks in every flower;
Each season has its own disease,
Its peril every hour!⁶²

A selection in the Southern Baptist *Hymn and Praise Book* warned of:

That day of wrath, that dreadful day,
When heav'n and earth shall pass away!
What pow'r shall be the sinner's stay?
How shall we meet that dreadful day?⁶³

A North Carolina minister's sermon on "Heavenly Recognition" conjectured that earthly friendships would be renewed after death and that "pastors will meet their dear flocks there and rejoice with them." The editor of the Methodist Raleigh *Christian Advocate* visualized the "hosts of the redeemed gathering about the great White Throne. . . . They are clothed in garments of white, with crowns of rejoicing upon their brows, and golden harps suspended on their arms, and palms of victory in their hands." Another North Carolina clergyman wrote that "it is sad to say farewell to those who are dying; but how sweet to think of greeting [them] on the eternal shore of rest, sweet rest."⁶⁴

Emotional responses attested the soul-stirring potency of such themes. In 1900 the Reverend Franklin H. Kerfoot, onetime professor at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and later corresponding secretary of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board, delivered a sermon before the Texas State

⁶⁰ *The American Baptist Pulpit at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Henry T. Louthan (Williamsburg, Va., 1903), 254-73.

⁶¹ Methodist Episcopal Church, South, General Conference, *Journal*, 1902 (Nashville, n.d.), 22.

⁶² *Hymn and Tune Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Nashville, 1894), 297.

⁶³ *Baptist Hymn and Praise Book* (Nashville, 1904), Hymn No. 538.

⁶⁴ *North Carolina Sermons*, ed. Levi Branson (3 vols., Raleigh, N. C., 1893), III, 33, 182, 309.

Baptist Convention. Kerfoot dwelt on the inevitability of human suffering: "tribulations, and persecutions, and famine, and nakedness, and sword. . . ." The only hope was that "God will not forsake us in death. . . . Nothing shall separate us from His love then." Kerfoot's passionate affirmation of this hope, following his dreary portrayal of hopelessness, evoked a turbulent demonstration. A correspondent of the Raleigh *Biblical Recorder* described the scene:

The congregation rose and sang "How Firm a Foundation," while men shouted, wept, and embraced, and struggled to express the inexpressible joy within them. Think of an audience of twenty-five hundred people rushing and surging to shake hands and embrace, climbing over chairs, waving hands and handkerchiefs. It was wonderful—wonderful!⁶⁵

Although camp meetings had been generally supplanted by more decorous indoor services, most southern congregations still sponsored special evangelistic campaigns each year.⁶⁶ The revival season in July and August, after the crops were laid by, was a major focus and outlet. Southern Baptists "often seem . . . to regard evangelism as the be-all and end-all of religion," one critic complained.⁶⁷ It was an indictment applicable also to most other Protestants. C. Vann Woodward tells of two North Carolina counties where an aggregate of 211 revivals was conducted in one year during this era!⁶⁸ Religious newspapers devoted lengthy columns to revivals; a few reports published in 1900 are illustrative. A South Carolina dispatch related that the "village of McClellanville has just passed through one of the happiest revivals that has ever been conducted in that section of the coast country." The pastor of the Dalton, Georgia, Methodist Church announced that "for three weeks, during a down-pour of rain day and night, the greatest revival Dalton ever had has been going on" and that "practically the whole city [is] revived." A participant in an East Macon, Georgia, revival wrote that "I never saw such a meeting. It looked as if the entire community had professed conversion."⁶⁹ The Lexington, Mississippi, Baptist Church likened its revival to "a cluster of rich grapes! We crushed them and drank the sacred wine and by faith inhaled the fragrant spices of the 'empty tomb.'" At Union Baptist Church, in Tippah County, Mississippi, the service that was to conclude a revival ended "with a good old-time handshaking while the membership sang, with feeling, 'Amazing Grace,' with chorus, 'We'll all sing Hallelujah.' The interest was so marked . . . that it was thought best to continue the meeting. . . ." A report

⁶⁵ Louthan, *American Baptist Pulpit*, 733-51.

⁶⁶ Charles A. Johnson, *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion's Harvest Time* (Dallas, 1955), is an able treatment. Revivalism in this century is surveyed in William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York, 1959).

⁶⁷ Dixon, "Southern Baptists through Northern Eyes."

⁶⁸ C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, La., 1951), 452.

⁶⁹ Nashville *Christian Advocate*, June 28, Aug. 9, Nov. 1, 1900.

from the Hermansville, Mississippi, Baptist Church described their revival as a "spiritual earthquake."⁷⁰ Luxora, Arkansas, Methodists felt they were "on high ground, having just closed one of the most successful meetings ever held in the county"; in that same state a report from the little town of Nashville declared that "our whole community was moved and touched" by a series of evangelistic services. From Texas came an account of a Methodist revival on the Glenwood Charge, near Fort Worth, where "there was evident the 'old-time power,' as Christians were made happy and shouted."⁷¹ Participants also "shouted as of old, and gave unmistakable evidence of religious joy" during a "most glorious" revival at Oak Grove Baptist Church, in Navarro County, Texas;⁷² Nacona, Texas, Methodists told of being swept by a "spiritual wave."⁷³

But few revivals of the year produced such evidences of success as that of the Scottsville, Kentucky, Methodist Church. A published account noted that "we used old-time methods; had the mourners bench, and preached and prayed until conviction seized the sinner and invited him to come." Results seemed to vindicate this procedure. More than ninety professed conversion, and an unestimated number were "reclaimed." Among the converts were the county attorney, city attorney, city marshal, district clerk, jailer, "and other representative men of the city."⁷⁴

Where religious passions surged to a high tide, revivals were often protracted. In 1900, Methodist revivals at Tracy City, Tennessee, and Scottsville, Kentucky, lasted three weeks, while Russellville, Arkansas, Methodists were "blessed with a great meeting, which continued more than three weeks." Another meeting at Dalton, Georgia, continued three weeks and then was extended for "another week at least." The Knoxville Highland Avenue Methodist Church entered its sixth week of revival services in February 1900, "with added enthusiasm and zeal." And, in July 1904, the pastor of the Cherokee Avenue Baptist Church, at Gaffney, South Carolina, reported "almost a continous [*sic*] revival for the past two months." But the New Orleans *Christian Advocate* complained in 1900 that "most meetings have closed too soon to get great ingatherings."⁷⁵

Normally revivals were evaluated according to number of conversions, although other results were not overlooked. During one east Tennessee revival,

⁷⁰ Jackson, Mississippi, *Baptist Record*, July 26, Aug. 11, 16, 1900.

⁷¹ Nashville *Christian Advocate*, July 19, Aug. 16, Oct. 18, 1900.

⁷² Dallas *Baptist Standard*, July 10, 1900.

⁷³ Nashville *Christian Advocate*, Mar. 22, 1900.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 8, 1900.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, Mar. 8, June 28, July 19, Aug. 30, 1900; Greenville, South Carolina, *Baptist Courier*, July 21, 1904.

"many old neighborhood feuds" were said to have been settled. A Baptist revivalist in a turbulent area of southeastern Mississippi, "where they kill men and threaten preachers" and where the meeting house "had the sign of buck-shot about the door that stole the life of a man," hoped he had been "at least some help" in promoting tranquillity. A revival report from Fairmont, South Carolina, told of only one addition to the church, but rejoiced that "the church was strengthened spiritually." Occasionally contributions to religious causes were stimulated. During one meeting, \$508.00 was collected for a religious education fund; during another, a \$650.00 parsonage debt was paid; and, at Jackson, Tennessee, a church board increased the Methodist minister's salary during a revival.⁷⁶

All southerners did not regard revivalism as an unmixed blessing. A Cameron, Texas, Baptist boasted that his congregation's revival "was not of the evangelistic order, and it is hoped that our religion will not be of a spasmodic kind, manifesting itself principally during revivals and conspicuous by its absence at other times." A South Carolina Baptist opined that "we are taught that the gospel should be preached that sinners might be converted, and not that excitement shall be created to strengthen the church numerically." The Nashville *Christian Advocate* cautioned that excitement should not be "churned up by artificial stimulants, and looked upon as an end in itself." "Morbid and unnatural excitement of the human emotions disturbs the balance of the faculties, enfeebles the will, and leads on to gross immorality," the *Advocate* warned. The Southern Methodist bishops noted with displeasure in 1894 that "many communities are restless unless they have weeks of evangelistic meetings yearly. . . ." There were frequent complaints about the substitution of "jerky, ditty-like" songs for the more restrained selections of the official hymnals.⁷⁷

But complaints and warnings did little to curb revival enthusiasm. Revivals flourished, most of all, because they fulfilled vital needs in southern society. They brought hope to many who knew little of hope and release to many who knew little of release. The revival preacher communicated his zest and zeal to others. With an intensity, a cadence, an intonation peculiar to his craft, resorting often to violent gestures, he played on themes of pain and sorrow, passion and pathos, love and redemption. Thus were the lost shepherded into the fold and the hope of believers rekindled. Significantly, also, revivals

⁷⁶ Nashville *Christian Advocate*, Feb. 15, May 24, June 28, 1900; Jackson, Mississippi, *Baptist Record*, July 26, 1900; Greenville, South Carolina, *Baptist Courier*, Sept. 4, 1904.

⁷⁷ Dallas *Baptist Standard*, June 26, 1902; Greenville, South Carolina, *Baptist Courier*, Sept. 8, 1904; Nashville *Christian Advocate*, May 31, June 28, Sept. 6, 1900; Methodist Episcopal Church, South, General Conference, *Journal*, 1894, 24-25.

afforded a welcome respite from rural isolation. Visiting, the renewal of old acquaintances, and courting among the young people were more than incidental accompaniments of the revival season.

And so the South remained a land of piety and tradition. "There is no part of the world in which ministers of the Gospel are more respected than in the Southern states," a distinguished Methodist editor declared.⁷⁸ The Reverend H. C. Morrison of Asbury College doubted whether there was "another territory of like area beneath the sun, where there is a stronger, better faith in the Bible, where the Sabbath is better observed, where a larger per cent. of the people attend church, and where virtue in womanhood and honesty in manhood are more common and command a better premium."⁷⁹ A preoccupation with individual repentance, a dogged insistence on Biblical inerrancy, a tendency toward overt expression of intense religious emotions: these legacies of frontier revivalism still held a primacy. Of this most southerners were proud.

⁷⁸ Nashville *Christian Advocate*, Oct. 17, 1885, quoted in Farish, *Circuit Rider Dismounts*, 105.

⁷⁹ Atlanta *Southern Presbyterian*, Aug. 10, 1905.

The "Indianization" of the Egyptian Administration under British Rule

ROBERT L. TIGNOR *

ON September 13, 1882, British troops defeated the Egyptian forces of Colonel Ahmad Arabi at Tell el-Kebir and advanced on Cairo. This date marks the beginning of the British occupation of Egypt. The British disclaimed any intention to make their occupation permanent, arguing that the only reason they had dispatched troops to Egypt was to restore order. According to their spokesman, the troops were to be withdrawn as soon as order was restored.¹ At the same time the British realized that evacuation could be carried out successfully only after a general reconstruction of the Egyptian administration. The extravagance of Khedive Ismail (1863-1879), the interference of the foreign powers in Egyptian finances and administration for the purpose of ensuring the prompt payment of Egypt's debt, and then the Arabi revolution of 1881-1882 had left the Egyptian administration thoroughly disorganized. The army was disgruntled and leaderless following the defeat at Tell el-Kebir. Every branch of the government had seen its budget cut drastically in the later years of Ismail's reign to provide money for Egypt's mounting debt payments. Reductions in the budget of the Ministry of Public Instruction had forced the closing of many schools and colleges.² Reports from public health inspectors indicated that the regular programs of the Department of Public Health could not be maintained properly because of a lack of funds. The hospitals were poorly staffed and needed repairs. It was widely feared that the Department of Public Health would be unable to resist the spread of epidemic diseases like cholera and plague if they broke out.³

In the face of these problems the British set about the task of general reorganization. Because of a lack of funds they were not able to carry out a

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¹ Recent studies have proved beyond any reasonable doubt the sincerity of the British promises to evacuate Egypt in this period. (See, for instance, Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Climax of Imperialism in the Dark Continent* [New York, 1961], 122-59.)

² James Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt* (London, 1938), 383-93.

³ Salim to Khairy, No. 1875, Nov. 6, 1883, Department of Public Health, copy letters, IVCCXX, Egyptian Archives at the Citadel, Cairo.

general and immediate reconstruction of the Egyptian administration, but through gradual reform, mainly in selected departments and with selected programs, they did effect a substantial amount of administrative reorganization. The dominant theme of their reform program was the introduction of techniques, institutions, and programs based on their own Indian experience. For the most part, these programs were introduced by British officials and technicians trained in India. For these reasons there is considerable justification for calling this entire process the Indianization of the Egyptian administration. Or to be more precise, what is meant by the term Indianization as applied to Egypt in this period is the grafting of Indian institutions and methods onto Egyptian institutions which in themselves reflected Ottoman, French, and purely Egyptian influences. The foundations for the Indianization of the Egyptian administration were laid principally in the first decade of British rule in Egypt (1882-1892), as an investigation of judicial reform, the police, the army, political institutions, the Department of Public Health, hydraulics, education, and finance will indicate.

The overriding issue in the first decade of the occupation was finance. Ismail had left Egypt with a debt totaling nearly £100,000,000, payment on which consumed nearly two-thirds of the Egyptian budget in 1883. For the first years of British rule only a little more than £3,000,000 were available for administrative expenses. Until 1888 the Egyptian government was involved in a touch-and-go race against bankruptcy, and as late as 1893 over 40 per cent of the budget was still being set aside for debt payments. Finance set the limits within which the British were able to operate. It also imposed upon them the necessity to direct funds into the so-called remunerative branches of the administration: hydraulics, agriculture, and public works. This, in turn, meant neglecting other departments, such as education and public health, generally and perhaps unwisely considered unremunerative. Moreover, the great thrust toward Indianization that occurred around 1890 was possible only because financial consolidation had been achieved. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the earliest reports of the British consul general, Lord Cromer, were financial reports and that the English financial adviser wielded more power than any other English official except Cromer.⁴

When the British occupied Egypt in 1882, the financial situation appeared anything but bright. Egypt's finances were regulated by a set of conventions that had been negotiated several years before the British occupation. By these

⁴ Both Auckland Colvin, *The Making of Modern Egypt* (New York, 1906), and Lord Milner, *England in Egypt* (London, 1892), have excellent discussions on the Egyptian financial situation. Lord Cromer, born Evelyn Baring, was not raised to the peerage until 1892. For purposes of clarity, however, he shall be referred to only as Cromer.

conventions certain revenues were pledged to the payment of the debt, and others were intended to cover Egyptian administrative expenses. An international institution, known as the *caisse de la dette*, representing the Great Powers in Egypt, ensured that these conventions were not violated by the Egyptian government. Unfortunately, realistic appraisals of Egyptian revenues had not been made when these conventions were negotiated, and the Egyptian government soon found itself without sufficient funds to meet its administrative expenses. The government was, in fact, in the rather embarrassing position of paying off its regular debt, while accumulating a large new floating debt. The unexpected military expenses in the Sudan in 1883 and 1884 only aggravated the situation. For a time bankruptcy seemed imminent, but in 1885 the Great Powers met in London and negotiated changes in the old financial conventions. More money was set aside for administrative needs, and the payments on the debt were reduced. The race against bankruptcy continued until 1888, but in that year the British financial adviser was finally able to write that "it would require a succession of bad years to place the present financial position in any serious state."⁵ Subsequently, money was available to develop Egypt's economic potential, primarily through hydraulic improvements, and the country was firmly secured against a relapse.

The credit for having brought order to Egypt's chaotic financial scene belongs almost entirely to a body of Anglo-Indian officials. The accounts were audited, and a new system of accounting of revenue and expenditure was introduced by Gerald Fitzgerald on loan from the Indian government.⁶ Two of the first three Egyptian financial advisers were Anglo-Indians. Under the guidance of these men many programs were borrowed from Indian experience. The fundamental tenet of the Egyptian administration that taxes should be reduced before money was spent on expensive administrative programs found its inspiration in India. Cromer was fond of quoting the statement of Lord Lawrence, viceroy of India from 1863 to 1869, that "light taxation was the panacea for foreign rule."⁷ Accordingly, as soon as financial stability had been attained in 1888, the government undertook to reduce taxes, postponing most administrative reforms until these reductions had been carried out.⁸ Other Anglo-Indian economic policies pursued in Egypt were the reduction of tariffs, the encouragement of peasant landholding, and the freedom of

⁵ Baring to Salisbury, No. 12, Dec. 4, 1888, enclosing report of Edgar Vincent, financial adviser, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 4 (1889), LXXXVIII, c. 5718.

⁶ P. G. Elgood, *The Transit of Egypt* (London, 1928), 92.

⁷ Lord Cromer, *Political and Literary Essays*, Second Series (London, 1915), 199.

⁸ *Annual Report* of Lord Cromer, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 1 (1895), CIX, c. 7644. There is, however, some truth in the charge that many of the so-called reductions were only remissions of taxes that could not be collected. (Theodore Rothstein, *Egypt's Ruin* [London, 1910], 294.)

movement given almost all foreign concerns in important spheres of Egypt's economic life.

Egypt's guiding hand in this period belonged, of course, to Cromer, Great Britain's consul general and virtual ruler of Egypt from 1883 to 1907. A better candidate could hardly have been found. Cromer had an intimate knowledge of Egyptian finance, derived from his assignment as commissioner of the public debt in the reign of Ismail. He had also served as financial member in the Indian government during Lord Ripon's administration from 1880 until his Egyptian appointment in 1883. His financial and administrative genius, proven during three years of work in India, undoubtedly accounted for his later appointment as much as his previous experience in Egypt. Because of his Indian experience he was ideally qualified to guide the process of the Indianization of the Egyptian administration. Additionally, he had other indispensable qualities without which he would surely have failed in Egypt: self-confidence, resourcefulness, and aggressiveness, which could upon occasion become excessive. Probably he was not temperamentally suited to guide the destinies of Egypt when the Egyptian nationalists were demanding an extension of education and responsible self-government, as they were in the last years of his administration. But for the early years, when Egypt was on the verge of bankruptcy, when the English government refused to help even by providing sound advice, and when each measure had to be pushed through in the face of unrelenting resistance, it hardly seems likely that the British could have found a more suitable candidate than Cromer. Egyptian modernization owes a vast, but heretofore insufficiently recognized, debt to Cromer.

In his book *Modern Egypt*, Cromer wrote that "prior to 1883 no system of justice existed."⁹ This statement is only partly true. Egypt's judicial problems stemmed, not from a lack, but from a superabundance of courts and judicial systems. Indeed, it is fair to say that prior to the British occupation Egypt was a judicial Tower of Babel. Many cases involving foreigners were tried before courts known as Mixed Tribunals. Created in 1875 through the tireless efforts of Egypt's leading minister, Nubar Pasha, these courts were composed, in the majority, of European judges, designated by the various foreign powers. They administered French law with only minor variations and dealt primarily with civil cases. Most criminal cases involving foreign subjects or foreign protégés were tried in the individual consular courts which administered the law of the subject person. Appeals from the rulings of the consular courts were

⁹ Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt* (2 vols., New York, 1916), II, 516.

often heard in higher courts in the individual's own country. Thus, the court system dealing with non-Egyptians was almost entirely beyond the control of the Egyptian government.¹⁰ The Egyptian or Native Courts, as they were called, dealt with civil and criminal cases involving Egyptians. Their structure, their procedure, and the law they administered were hopelessly ill defined. The executive branches of the government regularly interfered in the workings and decisions of these courts. The judges were political appointees, and the law in many cases was an indiscriminate mixture of Ottoman law, Egyptian administrative rulings, and French law, taken from Paris or Constantinople. As there was no corporate civil code, judges were allowed considerable freedom in deciding civil cases and usually based their decisions on any law that might come to mind.¹¹ The final important cluster of courts were the religious courts. Severely restricted throughout the nineteenth century, their jurisdiction was confined principally to such personal and family questions as marriage, divorce, testament, and so forth.

British officials quickly realized that Egyptian administrative stability could be guaranteed only by a reorganization of the courts. Even as early as September 13, 1882, the British consul general in Egypt, Edward Malet, had prepared a memorandum calling on the Egyptian government to reform its judicial system. "Until this is done," he wrote, "all financial reforms, all administrative reforms, all military reforms will be of no avail."¹² The Mixed Tribunals could not be altered as they had just recently been established and were working moderately well. The efforts to abolish consular jurisdiction, by endowing the Mixed Tribunals with jurisdiction over criminal matters, came to nought as the Great Powers refused to give up this authority. Furthermore, because of their reluctance to interfere in the religious life of the nation, the British hesitated to tamper with the religious courts.¹³ Instead they turned their attention directly to the Native Courts, which were admittedly the most in need of reform. Armed with Indian codes of law and Indian procedure, the British officials saw here the opportunity to reconstruct the Egyptian system along the lines of the Indian system.

¹⁰ These courts were officially Egyptian, but because foreign judges, appointed by foreign powers, predominated, they often reflected the interests of the foreign residents in Egypt and even of foreign governments more accurately than the desires of the Egyptian people. In addition, the courts enjoyed the power to bring the Egyptian government to trial—a power that they used on occasion to hamper its operations. For a more complete description of the Mixed Tribunals and consular jurisdiction, the reader should refer to Jasper Yeates Brinton, *The Mixed Courts of Egypt* (New Haven, Conn., 1930).

¹¹ For a discussion of these courts, see *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī* (2 vols., Cairo, 1937–38), I, 62–97, and Ahmad Fathī Zaghlūl, *al-Muhāmāh* (Cairo, 1900), 158–291.

¹² Malet to Granville, No. 1, Sept. 13, 1882, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 2 (1883), LXXXIII, c. 3462.

¹³ Except for an unsuccessful venture in 1896 the British left the religious courts alone until Lord Kitchener's administration (1911–1914).

British illusions about reconstituting the Egyptian judicial system along Indian lines were to be dispelled quickly, however. In the first place Egypt's orientation in judicial matters was entirely French. The Mixed Tribunals were French, and if the Mixed Tribunals were to be amalgamated with the reformed Native Courts at some future date, as everyone hoped, it would not do to introduce a whole new set of codes and procedures. Those few Egyptians, trained in law, moreover, were conversant with French law. Anglo-Indian courts would have been at a serious disadvantage from the outset because of a lack of trained personnel. But the most decisive reason that Anglo-Indian law was not introduced was that the Egyptian government had already drawn up a program of reforms that could be instituted more easily than the proposals, still in the formative stage, of the Anglo-Indian officials. In 1880 and 1881 Egyptian committees had been created for the purpose of reforming the Native Courts. Their recommendations, held in abeyance during the Arabi revolution, but put forward after the establishment of the occupation, called for the introduction of French codes and the creation of a set of courts, based primarily on the French system. The proposals were sufficiently detailed and well thought out as to silence most of the British critics. Earlier, in preparation for the eventual reform of the Egyptian courts, large segments of French law had been translated into Arabic. Confronted with this impressive list of objections, the British officials had no other recourse but to accept the reforms projected by their Egyptian colleagues. In June 1883 the decree establishing the new courts was promulgated. Shortly thereafter, the new codes, based extensively on the *Code Napoléon*, were issued. French influence, which had been dominant in most of the programs of modernization carried out by Mohammed Ali and Ismail, thereby retained its supremacy in the reformed judicial system.¹⁴

In spite of their assent to the reforms of 1883 the British experienced considerable difficulty in adjusting to the unfamiliar French codes and procedure. Two highly placed British officials resigned their positions in the Ministry of Justice in protest over the operation of the courts. Both of them, not surprisingly, were men trained in India, and both expressed the view that the Indian courts were far superior to the Egyptian courts. The most common complaints against the new Egyptian courts were that the system was over-centralized, that the principle of trying cases before three or more judges, modeled after French procedure, was slow and expensive, that the office of the parquet, responsible for carrying out investigations in criminal cases, rend-

¹⁴ The reform of the Native Courts and the rationale behind the choice of French law are discussed in considerable detail in *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, I, 99-126.

ered the police powerless in these matters, that the preliminary investigation, conducted by the *juge d'instruction*, carried too much weight in criminal cases, and that the courtroom procedure was not flexible enough.¹⁵ Benson Maxwell, one of the British officials at the Ministry of Justice, spoke for the other British officials in Egypt when he said that French law with its attention to detail was "utterly unsuited to this country," adding that "no person who has a general acquaintance either with the reforms made in our country or with Indian legislation of the last quarter of a century both in procedure and in the law of evidence can look upon such a system as rationally calculated to administer justice either quickly, cheaply, or efficiently."¹⁶ English influence, nonetheless, reached its nadir after the resignation in 1885 of Raymond West, the top ranking English official in the Ministry of Justice. From then until 1890 there were very few Englishmen serving as judges and not a single British official, highly placed, in the Ministry of Justice. Indeed, by 1890 the Native Courts were almost entirely run by Egyptian personnel. The European judges, appointed at the time of the inauguration of the new courts, had almost all resigned their appointments in the intervening period.¹⁷

The Egyptian courts had been created with high expectations. English and Egyptians alike had anticipated that they would give Egypt greater internal security than it had previously enjoyed. By 1890 it was obvious that these hopes had not been realized. Cromer readily admitted that the Ministry of Justice was one of the least satisfactory departments.¹⁸ Court procedure was slow and expensive. The courts were located only in the large cities, at too great a distance for the masses of the population. Crime had risen at an alarming rate.¹⁹ Indeed, to restore order in the countryside the British had sanctioned the creation of special administrative courts, which were able to conduct trials and to render verdicts without abiding by the strict letter of the law. These courts, however, had been subject to considerable abuse and, because of adverse criticism, had been abolished in 1889. It was under these circumstances, therefore, that Cromer requested the services of a new judicial

¹⁵ A good summary of these criticisms can be found in C. E. Coles Pasha, *Recollections and Reflections* (London, 1918), 83.

¹⁶ Baring to Granville, No. 31, Jan. 26, 1884, enclosing report by Maxwell, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 12 (1884), LXXXVIII, c. 3969.

¹⁷ Brinton, *Mixed Courts of Egypt*, 277. The Egyptian government had decided even before the British occupation to select Europeans as judges for the reformed courts. (See the memo of Husayn Fakhri, Minister of Justice, of Dec. 1882, quoted in *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, I, 107-15.)

¹⁸ There is also the opinion of Joseph Chamberlain, a visitor to Egypt in 1890, who left with Cromer a memo praising the government for its progress, but citing the judicial system and the police as requiring additional reform. This memo is quoted in Joseph Chamberlain, *A Political Memoir*, ed. C. H. D. Howard (London, 1953), 314-20.

¹⁹ Baring to Salisbury, No. 404, Dec. 3, 1889, Public Record Office (PRO) Foreign Office (FO) 78/4343 [hereafter cited as PRO, FO].

adviser, John Scott, in order to carry out a further reorganization in the court system.

Scott's credentials were more impressive than those of his English predecessors. Having graduated from Oxford, he was called to the bar in 1865. For reasons of health he had gone to Egypt where he had served on the bench of the Mixed Tribunals after having mastered French law. In 1882 he went to India as a judge and remained there until called back to Egypt as a judicial adviser in 1890. His particular qualifications for the post of judicial adviser were that he was thoroughly versed in both French and Indian law and knew the Indian and Egyptian court systems equally well. He was, therefore, better able than his predecessors, who had been hindered by not understanding the fundamentals of the French judicial system, to introduce into the existing system reforms, based largely upon Indian experience.²⁰

The first measures of the new judicial adviser were designed to break up the centralized French system of courts, holding sessions only in the larger cities with multiple judges, and, thereby, to make justice more accessible to the population. To this effect he endowed certain local administrators, the *'umdahs* (village headmen) with powers to settle summarily minor civil and criminal cases, subject, of course, to appeal in order to prevent abuses of this power.²¹ In addition, Scott created summary courts of justice holding sessions under a single qualified judge in hitherto unrepresented provincial cities. The Courts of First Instance, which had been the first line of courts up until this reform, were restricted to the more important civil and criminal cases and to appellate cases from the lower courts.²² In order to raise the standards of the personnel in the courts Scott also enacted more stringent rulings pertaining to the appointment of judges and the practice of law before the Egyptian courts. At the same time a number of Europeans were appointed to the bench. Unfortunately, little could be said for their abilities, for few possessed the requisite qualifications in law and Arabic. So as to ensure the high quality of Egypt's legal profession he encouraged the reform of the Egyptian Law School and the increase of its European teaching staff.²³

The majority of these reforms had their inspiration deep in Indian experience. In the first place the delegation of judicial powers to the local administrators (the *'umdahs*) was supported by the full weight of Indian practice where the British had successfully given Indian administrative officials,

²⁰ There is a short biographical sketch of Scott in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 2d Supplement (3 vols., London, 1912), III, 280.

²¹ *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, I, 163.

²² A detailed discussion of Scott's programs, including the opposition he encountered, is found in Baring to Salisbury, No. 297, Nov. 6, 1890, PRO, FO 78/4312.

²³ Cromer to Rosebery, No. 31, Feb. 18, 1894, enclosing report of Scott, *ibid.*, 78/4574.

known as collectors, substantial judicial power. The great difference in the systems was that the Indian administrative positions were held by the English while the positions in Egypt were retained by Egyptian officials. The parallels for the creation of the summary courts of justice under a single judge were also to be found both in India and in England. Trial by a single judge was, of course, common practice in England and in India, while summary sessions, used in the lower courts in England, were widespread in India. The reforms had the desired effect of making justice faster, cheaper, and more accessible, although the crime rate showed no signs of declining as had been hoped.

Court procedure and the rules of evidence had also troubled the British in Egypt. Benson Maxwell and Raymond West, Scott's predecessors at the Ministry of Justice, had criticized the Egyptian system as being inflexible and time consuming. They complained that French law was too detailed and rigid for a backward country like Egypt and that Indian rules were far more suited to its stage of development. Both had attempted to introduce changes based on the Indian rules of evidence of 1872, but neither had significant success.²⁴ It was, in fact, not until Scott's appointment that some of these French practices were modified in the light of Anglo-Indian techniques. The preliminary investigation was made less decisive in many cases. The accused was permitted to be represented by counsel during the preliminary hearings and to interrogate his accusers and other witnesses. In some cases the *juge d'instruction*, who conducted the preliminary hearing, was given no formal authority. The court trial became, in this instance, far more important for eliciting the facts and developing the case against the accused. Court procedure was altered so as to allow for more vigorous cross-examination of the witnesses on the part of the lawyers.²⁵

The reform of the judicial system during the British occupation is an extraordinarily complex subject. It is difficult to distinguish the different influences at work: French, English, Indian, and purely Egyptian. What is clear, however, is that French law was introduced into the reformed Egyptian courts at the outset primarily because of long-standing French dominance of Egyptian modernization. The British went along with the French system, disliking it, until the appointment of Scott as judicial adviser in 1890. Through his energetic reform program, carried out primarily between 1890 and 1895, a

²⁴ Before West resigned, he left a detailed report with Nubar Pasha setting forth his criticisms of the existing system along with his recommendations for reform. These proposals for reform were based largely on Indian procedures. (Drummond Wolff to Rosebery, No. 48, Mar. 13, 1886, enclosing report of West on the administration of justice, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 5 [1886], LXXIV, c. 4769.)

²⁵ *Annual Report*, enclosing report by Scott on the progress of the Native Tribunals, 1890-1894, *ibid.*, No. 1 (1894), XC, c. 7308. A few of these reforms in procedure had actually been enacted under Scott's predecessors, Maxwell and West.

considerable amount of Anglo-Indian procedure was grafted onto the French system. Further Anglo-Indian reforms were enacted from time to time after this period, the basis for such reforms having been established in these years. The Egyptian judicial system remained primarily French, to be sure, but the changes were eventually significant enough to require a separate Egyptian commentary on the divergences from the French system.²⁶

In Egypt whoever controlled the police had substantial control over the internal life of the country. This was so because the police enforced the decrees of the central government, were responsible for maintaining security, and, if given firm support by the central government, could assume many of the powers of the *mudīrs* and *mamūrs*, who constituted the regular administrative hierarchy in the provinces. Not surprisingly, therefore, it was over the control and the powers of the police that the British and the Egyptians often engaged in their most violent disputes. No Egyptian, no matter how compromised by British rule, could allow these powers to slip into the hands of the British, for then Egypt would become, in reality, a British colony; no British official could afford to permit such power to remain fully in the hands of Egyptians, increasingly so as the British began to assume fuller control of other departments of the government and saw their programs thwarted by insufficient policing powers.

In the time of Ismail police powers had been exercised by city police, partly European, under the control of the governor of the city, and by local police bodies, unpaid and untrained, under the authority of the *mudīr* of the province and the *mamūr* of the district.²⁷ The army was also used to preserve internal order, and there was a disorganized provincial police force, which was expected to aid the provincial administrators in security matters. Following the establishment of the occupation, the British began to reconstitute the police. There was no open opposition to the principle of British reorganization of the police, as it was generally conceded that the British had to guarantee the security of the country and to make sure that the police did not become a center of revolutionary sentiments as the army had in the age of Arabi. But disagreement did develop over the question of how far British control should extend. Should the police be brought completely under British authority and

²⁶ *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, I, 419.

²⁷ The village policemen, if they even can be so called, were known as *ghafīrs*. They were under the authority of an individual, known as the *shaykh* of the *ghafīrs*, who in turn was responsible to the village headman, the *umdah*. A brief description of the system as it existed before the occupation can be found in E. H. Egerton to Granville, No. 79, May 12, 1884, enclosing report of Clifford Lloyd, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 25 (1884), LXXXIX, c. 4100.

be made independent of the Egyptian provincial and city administrators, as some of the British hoped? This change would mean that the British, through the police, could interfere in the day-to-day life of the country, and would deprive the Egyptian officials of their customary authority. Or should the authority of the British officials be limited to the recruitment, training, and discipline of the police, leaving questions of internal security in the hands of the *mudīrs* and *mamūrs* and putting the police entirely at the disposal of these officials for the maintenance of public security? As far as the Egyptians were concerned, the recruitment and discipline of the police were very large powers, indeed.

The first British commandant of the Egyptian police was Valentine Baker. He was a popular choice, having served in the Turkish army in the Russo-Turkish War in 1877 and having indicated on numerous occasions his sympathy for the Turks and the Arabs. He further ingratiated himself with the Egyptians by deciding not to alter the traditional relationship of the police to the Egyptian authorities. The various police bodies were reorganized. British officials were made responsible for the discipline of the forces, but, otherwise, the police remained under the authority of the Egyptian administrators.²⁸ Unfortunately, for the tranquillity of Egypt, the situation did not last. Baker was dispatched to the eastern Sudan with a part of his reorganized police force to quell an uprising against Egyptian authority, and Clifford Lloyd, formerly a resident magistrate in Ireland, was brought into the Ministry of the Interior. Lloyd was a man of considerable talent with rather extreme but useful ideas on how to reorganize the Egyptian administration. Cromer and many other British officials were impressed with his skills and his projected reforms. Cromer even took him into the inner circle of advisers, remarking to Foreign Minister Granville that he was "invaluable."²⁹ But he was far too forceful for such a delicate task as British adviser at the Ministry of the Interior. One of his critics said that he liked "to advertise himself by his vigor."³⁰ It was no secret that the reason for his transfer from Ireland to Egypt in 1883 was that his actions and policies had alienated the Irish and had been detrimental to the Gladstonian government. As a noted British journalist had remarked: "I had the pleasure of making Mr. Clifford Lloyd's acquaintance during his brief tenure of office in Cairo, and I understood, for the first time, why a statesman so just, so fair-minded, and so kind-hearted as Buckshot Forster [chief secretary for Ireland] should have incurred the bitter personal

²⁸ Malet to Granville, No. 51, June 23, 1883, *ibid.*, No. 22 (1883), LXXXIII, c. 3802. This document contains the rules drawn up for the police and the provincial police force.

²⁹ Baring to Granville, No. 6, Oct. 14, 1883, Cromer Papers, PRO, FO 633/VII.

³⁰ Wilfred Scawen Blunt, *Gordon at Khartoum* (London, 1912), 268.

unpopularity he acquired in Ireland."³¹ It was this same aggressiveness, when tact was required, that caused the resignation of successive Ministers of the Interior in protest over Lloyd's highhandedness.³²

Lloyd's first step at the Ministry of the Interior was to set aside Baker's reorganization of the police and to conduct a new study of the police organization. Shortly thereafter, on December 31, 1883, he issued a decree that radically altered the traditional administrative structure. According to this decree Egypt was divided into three inspectorates, each under the control of an English inspector. Henceforth all subordinate police officials were to send reports on crimes and general conditions to both the *mudīr* and one of the English inspectors. The *mudīr*, in contacting the police officials nominally under his authority, was required to send his orders through the English inspectors. To ensure the efficient operation of this system, the different police organizations were brought more firmly under the control of the central government and by extension under the control of Lloyd and other superior British officials at the Ministry of the Interior.³³ Thus Lloyd's reform had the effect of taking much of the police authority out of the hands of the *mudīrs* and placing it in the hands of British officials. It meant that the British would have the power to make their influence felt within the local districts; the police, dominated by the English inspectors, would inevitably supplant the *mudīrs* and the *mamūrs* as the most powerful force in local administration. Although Lloyd had never served in India, it was clear that the spirit of this decree was inspired by Indian experience. In fact, Lloyd admitted that he had studied the police systems of India and Burma and that while his reform was not a replica of these systems, it was based largely on them.³⁴

The Egyptians reacted to this decree as the British should have expected, but apparently did not. Not a single Egyptian minister supported the measure. The most vocal of the critics was Egypt's leading minister, Nubar Pasha, who usually could be counted on to do the bidding of the British. The strength of the reaction exposed the weakness of the British position in Egypt. The only way in which the British could have compelled assent to this measure in the face of general Egyptian disapproval was to take the reins of government

³¹ Edward Dicey, *The Story of the Khedivate* (New York, 1902), 366. This is, of course, an exaggeration as Lloyd did not have that much influence over Irish events.

³² 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'i, *Miṣr wa-l-Sūdān* (Cairo, 1948), 158.

³³ Baring to Granville, No. 32, Jan. 7, 1884, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 5 (1884), LXXXVIII, c. 3852. This document contains the decree of December 31, 1883.

³⁴ In a report explaining his reform, Lloyd wrote: "The scheme is founded upon the ordinary idea of what a police force should be, in a country where its duties are of a varied nature, and in framing it I have had before me the various constabulary and police systems adopted in India, in Burmah, and in Ireland." (Baring to Granville, No. 26, Jan. 2, 1884, enclosing report of Lloyd, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 5 [1884], LXXXVIII, c. 3852.)

themselves. But, pledged as they were to a quick evacuation, they were in no position at the time to take this step or even to threaten the Egyptian officials with its possibility.³⁵ Moreover, the stand of the Egyptians, led by Nubar, was unassailable. Nubar argued that the internal administration was "the private life of the country" and that a European controlling this administration, "no matter what tact he may possess, would introduce confusion."³⁶ By threatening to resign, Nubar was able to carry his point with Cromer. In the summer of 1884 Lloyd ended his short but eventful career in Egypt. Shortly thereafter, the police administration was reconstituted along the lines laid down by Baker, who was once again placed at the head of the police. The English inspectors were retained, but their duties were confined to the discipline of their subordinates. The Egyptian *mudirs* and *mamurs* remained in charge of the police in matters relating to internal security.³⁷

The uneasy victory for Nubar and the Egyptians did not go unchallenged for long, however.³⁸ Beginning in 1890, at the same time the British were bringing the judicial system under closer surveillance, a series of reforms was instituted in the police administration and the Ministry of the Interior. These reforms culminated in a partial compromise between the Egyptian and British positions in 1894, although the British easily had the better of the bargain. The British inspectorate in the police was abolished, as the Egyptians had wanted. At the same time, in accordance with the desires of the British, an English official was appointed adviser to the Ministry of the Interior, which was endowed with a corps of English inspectors. Henceforth, the police operated strictly under the authority of the *mudirs* and the *mamurs*, but the entire provincial administration was subject to inspection and a large amount of control from the English inspectors and the English adviser to the Ministry of the Interior.³⁹ Indeed, the 1894 reforms laid the foundations of a system that

³⁵ The British had forced the Egyptian government to accept the policy of evacuating the Sudan by threatening to take over the government themselves in order to carry out this policy. In the dispute over police powers, however, the British could not risk having Nubar Pasha submit his resignation, as he was the only leading Egyptian official willing to cooperate with the British at this time. Moreover, the British could never have justified a policy of taking over the Egyptian ministry in this dispute to a watchful Parliament; Nubar Pasha knew this.

³⁶ Egerton to Granville, No. 37, May 19, 1884, enclosing letter from Nubar Pasha, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 25 (1884), LXXXIX, c. 4100.

³⁷ Egerton to Lord Salisbury, No. 97, Oct. 26, 1885, enclosing report of Baker on the police, *ibid.*, No. 2 (1886), LXXIV, c. 4611.

³⁸ Actually, Nubar, whose goal was to keep British influence out of the Ministry of the Interior, achieved other temporary successes. The powers of the English inspectors were curtailed further, and British influence was effectively confined to the central administration of the police organization. (Coles, *Reflections and Recollections*, 76.) With respect to this problem, Cromer wrote: "Nubar Pasha jauntily threw off all responsibility for Sudanese or financial affairs and concentrated all the efforts of his astute mind on an endeavour to upset European control in so far as the affairs of the Interior were concerned." (Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, II, 487.)

³⁹ There are discussions of the 1894 reform in numerous books. Of particular interest are

the Egyptians found increasingly onerous. Alongside the official and nominally independent Egyptian administrators there emerged a body of British officials ranging from subinspectors or inspectors in the provinces to advisers at the central ministry who wielded most of the power. By the outbreak of the First World War little was done in Egypt without the assent of these officials.⁴⁰

The dispute over police authority revealed the limitations of Indianization in Egypt. Because of their pledges to withdraw from Egypt and their desire, while there, to rule through the regularly constituted authorities, the British could not take over the official administrative positions as they had in India. As an attempt to solve this awkward problem, they created so-called advisory positions, with the adviser or the inspector wielding more power than his nominal superior. If this system had any parallel in India, it was not with the regularly administered territory, but with the nonregulated provinces where the British also ruled indirectly.

In contrast to the Ministry of the Interior, which was permitted a certain amount of freedom from British authority, the army was quickly brought under British control. The Arabi revolution had proved that the army, as one of the few independent sources of power in Egypt, could pose a serious threat to the established government. The British feared that nationalist and revolutionary sentiments were widespread throughout the ranks of the army. It was even suggested by a few British officials at the outset of the occupation that Egypt's security needs could be met entirely by the police and the provincial police force and that the army could be suppressed.⁴¹ Indeed, on September 20, 1882, a decree announced the dissolution of the army.⁴² But these measures proved too shortsighted. Egypt's security was threatened by the followers of Mohammed Ahmed, the self-styled Mahdi, who had raised the standard of revolt in the Sudan against Egyptian rule and was even proclaiming an invasion of Egypt. The British policy toward the army, therefore, shifted from suppression to domination. The army was to be strengthened so that it could

Coles, *Reflections and Recollections*, 59, and Rennell Rodd, *Social and Diplomatic Memories, 1894-1901* (London, 1923), 40.

⁴⁰ Easily the best description of the duties and powers of the English inspector is to be found in Thomas Russell, *Egyptian Service, 1902-1946* (London, 1949).

⁴¹ Lord Wolseley, British commander in chief of the forces that defeated the Egyptian army, wrote to Hugh Childers, Secretary of State for War, on September 17, 1882: "I see no good reason why the Khedive should again raise an army; a few local regiments raised in the Soudan for service there, and a good gendarmie for Lower Egypt is all that he can really require for the maintenance of order." (Spencer Childers, *The Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers, 1827-1896* [2 vols., London, 1901], II, 131.)

⁴² This decree is included in Malet to Granville, No. 26, Sept. 21, 1882, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 1 (1883), LXXXIII, c. 3461.

ensure Egypt against external aggression, but it was also to be dominated by British officers so that it could not again become a source of revolutionary agitation.

The British policy for bringing the Egyptian army under British control was to be accomplished by seconding British officers from the British army to high positions in the Egyptian army. In November 1882 Evelyn Wood was appointed commanding general or sirdar of the Egyptian army. At his behest twenty-five British officers were transferred to the Egyptian army and given commanding positions.⁴³ In the delegation of authority to these British officers the British relied heavily on their Indian experience where British officers were often put at the head of Indian troops. Responsible Egyptian positions were filled, wherever possible, by former officers not compromised in the Arabi revolution. In the junior ranks little distinction was made between those implicated in the Arabi revolution and those loyal to the Khedive. It was decided that, while reserving all the higher staff positions to British officers, half of the commanders in infantry and cavalry battalions should be Egyptians. These positions were, therefore, the highest that Egyptian officers could aspire to in the early years of the occupation.⁴⁴

In 1882 few people thought that the British officers, working with the Egyptian peasants as raw recruits, could produce an efficient army. It was widely felt at the time that the peasants could never be trained in military tactics or discipline. Their dislike for military regimentation and for separation from their homes were well-established facts. Khedive Tewfik (1879–1892) spoke for almost all the skeptics when he said in an interview with an English correspondent: “You English are wasting your time and your money in trying to raise a native fellaheen [peasant] army. However well your officers treat and drill them, they will never become soldiers. It is not in their nature.”⁴⁵ But the British did accomplish what they set out to do. The army was rendered efficient enough to guard Egypt’s frontiers against invasions from the Sudan. In fact from 1896 to 1898 it bore the brunt of the fighting in the reconquest of the Sudan. At the same time British domination of the top positions ensured that it did not become a center of revolutionary enthusiasm.⁴⁶

⁴³ Evelyn Wood, *From Midshipman to Field Marshal* (2 vols., New York, 1906), II, 153. It might be pointed out that among Wood’s twenty-five officers were some men destined to make great reputations for themselves, including Lord Kitchener and Reginald Wingate, later governor-general of the Sudan and high commissioner of Egypt.

⁴⁴ Dufferin to Granville, No. 38, Feb. 6, 1883, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 6 (1883), LXXXIII, c. 3529.

⁴⁵ Dicey, *Story of the Khedivate*, 429.

⁴⁶ This is not to deny the criticism of certain Egyptian scholars that there were too many English officers and that the right to purchase exemption from military service played havoc with

The political institutions of the British occupation were an amalgam of Indian and earlier Egyptian organs. They were put in their final form by Lord Dufferin, special British appointee, given the task of drawing up a program for Egyptian administrative reform. Although Dufferin was more familiar with the Ottoman Empire than India, having served as special British representative to Syria in 1860 and then as British ambassador at Constantinople from 1881 to 1884, he relied heavily while in Egypt upon the advice of former Indian officials. It was Auckland Colvin, financial adviser in Egypt and a former Indian official, who suggested experimenting with Indian political institutions.⁴⁷ The three basic institutions that emerged from Dufferin's recommendations were the provincial councils, a Legislative Council, and a General Assembly.

Provincial councils had existed under Ismail. They were partly elective bodies, designed to render assistance to the provincial administrators in matters relating to agriculture and irrigation. But they had never proved effective; most met very infrequently. Instead of abolishing these bodies, the British attempted to reorganize them. This step was in keeping with their Indian experience for it was a fundamental principle in India that demands for increased self-government would be met by creating or strengthening the powers of local self-governing bodies. Indeed, one of the major reforms of Lord Ripon's administration in India (1880-1884), from which the British in Egypt drew much inspiration, was an extension of the powers of the Indian provincial councils. The Egyptian provincial councils were to be elected indirectly and were to have advisory and consultative powers on matters of public interest within the respective provinces. Only individuals paying a high property tax were eligible to run as candidates for election. As in India, the provincial councils generated little enthusiasm among the people and had little actual responsibility. Accordingly, they could hardly have been regarded as successful in preparing Egypt for self-government. The central government regularly by-passed them even when questions of local interest were under consideration. Nevertheless, when the demand for increased self-government was raised later in the British occupation, the English attempted to satisfy the Egyptian nationalists by endowing these councils with more extensive powers.

The Egyptian Legislative Council succeeded the old Council of Notables which Ismail had created in 1866. The British argued that the reason for the suppression of the Council of Notables was that it was unrepresentative.⁴⁸ The

the proper recruitment of the army. (See 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'i, *Miṣr wa-l-Sūdān*, 16.)

⁴⁷ Jacob Landau, *Parliaments and Parties* (Tel Aviv, 1953), 41.

⁴⁸ Dufferin to Granville, No. 28, Nov. 18, 1882, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 2 (1883), LXXXIII, c. 3462.

real reason was, in fact, that the council had assumed extensive powers during the Arabi revolution and had become one of the centers of revolutionary agitation. The new Legislative Council was quite similar to the old Council of Notables. Its powers were consultative; the government was expected to submit all important decrees for its opinion, but it was under no obligation to accept this opinion. The Legislative Council also had the power to discuss the budget and make its recommendations before the budget became law. It differed most noticeably from the old Council of Notables in that only half its members were elected, the other half being appointed by the government. Nevertheless, the council derived some of its inspiration from its Indian counterpart, also called the Legislative Council. The latter was a more informal body, but it also had been established to give the government the opportunity to consult with representatives of the people on important legislative matters.⁴⁹

The General Assembly had no counterpart in Indian political institutions. It seems to have been created in response to Egyptian demands for a more representative institution than the Legislative Council. It was a larger body than the Legislative Council, and more of its members were elected. Indeed, the assembly had one positive power that none of the other representative institutions possessed: the right to veto any decree establishing new taxes or increasing old ones. But, in fact, the assembly exercised little influence on Egypt's political life.⁵⁰ It met only once every two years, usually for less than a week. Its sessions were never given any publicity, and when the nationalists sought to dominate Egypt's political life, they concentrated on making their influence felt in the more important Legislative Council. Both the Legislative Council and the General Assembly remained in existence with powers substantially unchanged until 1913 when Lord Kitchener amalgamated their powers and created a single legislative assembly.

The original plans of the British administrators in Egypt took little account of the Egyptian sanitary services. The Dufferin report, which was intended to serve as a blueprint for the administrative policies of the British, made no mention of Egypt's Department of Public Health. But a frightful cholera epidemic in the summer and autumn of 1883 quickly dispelled this complacency, as it pointed up the weakness in the Department of Public

⁴⁹ The decrees creating the new political institutions and defining their powers are to be found in *ibid.*, No. 19 (1883), LXXXIII, c. 3733.

⁵⁰ There is a notable exception to this statement. In 1910 the General Assembly was empowered to debate a project by which the Egyptian government would extend the concession of the Suez Canal Company to the year 2008 in return for financial compensation. Echoing public opinion, the assembly rejected the project decisively. ('Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfiʿī, *Muḥammad Farid* [Cairo, 1948], 137.)

Health and indicated the pressing need for reform. The epidemic that broke out in Lower Egypt swept almost unchecked throughout the rest of the country. The number of deaths, officially registered, totaled 58,369, but it was generally believed that another 40,000 had been struck down by cholera, though not registered.⁵¹ The public health administration, its programs deprived of needed funds in the last years of Ismail's costly reign, simply collapsed in the face of the vast problems posed by the epidemic.

In the time of Ismail the Department of Public Health had been run by a council of doctors and administrators, known officially as the *Conseil de Santé*. The lack of a single, responsible director, the British were convinced, was one of the reasons for the breakdown of the department during the epidemic. For this reason the British replaced the *Conseil de Santé* in 1884 with an Egyptian director, aided by an English adviser as subdirector.⁵² It was, of course, expected that the English adviser would be the dominant force in the department, but in this particular case the division of authority between an Egyptian and an English official did not work well. The English adviser, F. M. Sandwith, lacking support from his British superiors, was hemmed in by the Egyptian director and other Egyptian officials in the department. Low ebb was reached in 1885 when the English subdirector resigned, complaining of intrigues launched against him by jealous Egyptian officials.⁵³ For a short time it appeared as if the British would allow the sanitary service to slip into the hands of Egyptian officials. But the memory of the cholera epidemic was still fresh, and before the Egyptians could solidify their control over the department, another series of reforms was carried out. As a result of these reforms a whole host of recalcitrant Egyptian officials were dismissed, and a new British director, H. R. Greene from India, was brought in and given full authority over the operations of the department.⁵⁴ During Greene's tenure of power and that of his successors a substantial number of Anglo-Indian techniques were introduced into the operations of the Department of Public Health. Some of the most important were the establishment of urban self-governing organizations, known as municipalities, a drainage scheme for Cairo, drawn up by an engineer with wide Indian experience, but not completed because of financial difficulties, and the appointment of English inspectors in the provinces. The Department of Public Health remained probably the most unsatisfactory branch of the government throughout

⁵¹ Colvin, *Making of Modern Egypt*, 40.

⁵² F. M. Sandwith, "Medical Matters in Egypt," *Saint Thomas Hospital Reports*, XIII (June 1883), 344.

⁵³ *British Medical Journal*, I (Feb. 1885), 401.

⁵⁴ Égypte, *Bulletin des Lois et Décrets* (27 vols., Cairo, 1876-1902), XII, 95.

the British occupation, primarily because its budget was one of the most meager. But those programs that were introduced, particularly in protecting the country against the outbreak and spread of epidemics, were carried out with considerable success.

It was inevitable that the most impressive achievements in the first decade of British rule were wrought in the realm of hydraulics. Egypt's wealth lay in the land, and the surest and most economical way to increase this wealth was through improvements in the system of irrigation. There was, moreover, an added incentive for increasing as rapidly as possible this source of wealth: the struggle for solvency. A more systematic control of the Nile and improvements in the irrigation system were the most effective means for increasing the amount of land brought under cultivation, for raising the yields per acre on that land, and, more important, for increasing state revenues, derived from taxes on the cultivated land.

Irrigation works in Egypt, like almost everything else, had fallen into a state of disrepair in the waning years of Ismail's reign. Ismail's hydraulic engineers had extended the system of perennial irrigation that had been introduced in the time of Mohammed Ali and that was designed to utilize the summer or low Nile as well as the winter flood to enable year-round cultivation. But the irrigation canals were badly aligned and choked with silt. Much of the water intended for irrigation never reached the land. In addition, the government found it increasingly difficult to call out the *corvée*, the purpose of which was to clear sediment from the irrigation canals. Complicating the situation further was the fact that an insufficient number of drainage canals had been dug with a resulting decline in the productivity of the soil under cultivation.⁵⁵

Not surprisingly, one of the first acts of Lord Dufferin was to appoint a British engineer, Colin Scott-Moncrieff, as head of the irrigation services. Scott-Moncrieff was an Indian hydraulic engineer who had worked on the Jumna and Ganges canals in India and had then been put in charge of the irrigation system in Burma. His appointment marked the beginning of the control of Egyptian irrigation by English engineers trained in India. As Scott-Moncrieff wrote:

Irrigation is an art which there is no occasion to practice in England. But there are few forms of agriculture which are not practiced in one or another of Her Majesty's many possessions, and so it happened that from Northern India Lord Dufferin was able to obtain officers possessing the experience required in Egypt. In Northern India

⁵⁵ Some of the defects in the irrigation system before 1882 are recorded in Julien H. Barois, *Irrigation in Egypt*, tr. A. M. Miller (Washington, D. C., 1889).

a system of canals exist far greater than in Egypt, and here, too, irrigation is practiced when the heat is greatest and the canals at their lowest. . . . It was to India, then, that Lord Dufferin looked for engineers to improve the irrigation of Egypt.⁵⁶

Scott-Moncrieff first inspected the existing irrigation system, and after having decided that the first requirement was to put this system in good working order, he requested the transfer of four English engineers from India. Upon arrival each engineer was given a zone or irrigation circle, as it was called, in which he had full authority and which he was expected to bring to a state of efficiency.⁵⁷ When it was seen that these four men required assistance, four additional Anglo-Indian engineers were brought to Egypt.

In his *Annual Report* for 1902 Cromer estimated that expenditures on irrigation and other public works since the beginning of the occupation twenty years before were 8 per cent of total government expenditures. This small percentage is somewhat deceiving. Almost half of government expenditures during the period went to the payment of Egypt's debt. Moreover, only one other branch of the administration, the army, consumed as much of Egypt's revenue as the Department of Public Works. Expenditures on public works were over five times as much as the expenditures on education and sanitation taken together over this period. But even this does not give a complete picture. The Department of Public Works was the only one that could count on financial support for long-range development programs. In addition to its regular budget, it had a special budget for such expenditures. It was the recipient of most of Egypt's loans and funds from outside sources. Even in the first decade of the British administration the Department of Public Works was the least affected by the financial situation. Within this period British hydraulic engineers were able to effect substantial improvements in the irrigation system. The irrigation canals were realigned and cleaned for summer cultivation. Canal clearance was let out to private contractors, thereby allowing for the partial suppression of the *corvée*. The amount of perennially irrigated land continued to increase; crop yields, particularly those of cotton, responded favorably throughout the period to the better-regulated hydraulic system.⁵⁸

By far the most spectacular hydraulic project of this period was the work done on the barrage in the Nile Delta. The barrage, which was a regulating dam thrown across the Nile just below Cairo where the river divides into the Damietta and Rosetta branches, was conceived by French engineers in the age of Mohammed Ali. Its purpose was to raise the level of the Nile during

⁵⁶ Colin Scott-Moncrieff, "Irrigation in Egypt," *The Nineteenth Century* (1885), XVII, 344.

⁵⁷ Baring to Granville, No. 9, Feb. 2, 1885, enclosing report of Scott-Moncrieff, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 15 (1885), LXXXIX, c. 4421.

⁵⁸ There is an interesting account of this period in the letters of Colin Scott-Moncrieff, *The Life of Sir Colin C. Scott-Moncrieff*, ed. Mary Hollings (London, 1917).

the summer season so as to provide a regular supply of summer irrigation water for the lands of the Delta. When the barrage was first tried in 1863, fissures appeared in the masonry, and it was able to hold up only a fraction of the intended supply. From 1863 to 1882 the barrage was employed only occasionally because of the belief that it was not safe and that great pressure would destroy it. One of the original French designers remarked that "the barrage resembled a gangrened body. It was covered with a fine coat, but disease gnawed at its vitals. A major operation was needed."⁵⁹ On the Damietta branch the regulating gates had not even been fitted into place, and this part of the barrage had never been utilized to hold up water. Actually the barrage had been written off as a costly failure. Indeed, just before the arrival of Scott-Moncrieff the Egyptian government had decided to negotiate a contract with a private pumping company at an initial cost of £750,000 and an annual cost of £250,000 to supply the Delta with the much-needed summer irrigation supplies.

Scott-Moncrieff's immediate reaction, when informed of the government's decision to negotiate a contract with a pumping company, was alarm at the frightful expense involved. His Indian experience, he contended, had taught him to put great stock in regulating dams like the one on the Nile. It would be cheaper in the long run, he felt, to build an entirely new regulating dam if the old one was of no value. But it was decided to try to repair the existing barrage and to make it serve its original purpose. "We resolved," Scott-Moncrieff wrote, "to see what the cracked dam was worth. . . . [There were] tremendous cracks through two or three arches, but still we resolved to test the work. If it smashed, there was no very great harm; while if we could anyhow make it stand, the gain would be enormous."⁶⁰

British engineers began work on the barrage in 1884. Preliminary surveys showed the superstructure to be in good working order, but the foundations, having been constructed hastily, required extensive repair. The chief difficulty was how to lay a more stable foundation over the sandy channel bed. The foundations had to be constructed so that they would prevent water from percolating under the barrage and scouring out the mud and sand on which the barrage rested. Here again Indian experience proved valuable. Similar problems had been faced in India, and Scott-Moncrieff decided to use a technique that had worked successfully on the sandy river beds of southern India. The technique was to spread the foundations wide since it would have been too expensive to put them deep into the sandy bed of the Nile, thereby rend-

⁵⁹ Edward W. C. Sandes, *The Royal Engineers in Egypt and the Sudan* (Chatham, Eng., 1937), 368.

⁶⁰ Hollings, *Scott-Moncrieff*, 201.

ering it impossible for the percolating water to traverse the full length of the foundations or to have sufficient force to scour out the mud under the barrage itself. In addition, clay puddle was used to make the bed of the Nile more impervious to water. The experiment proved a complete success. The foundations having been repaired and widened between 1887 and 1890 with the aid of an international loan, the barrage in 1890 was able to hold up the level of water originally intended and to supply the Delta with summer irrigation water.⁶¹

In their policy of education in Egypt the British attempted to avoid mistakes they felt had been made in India. Indian officials in the 1880's generally believed that Indian education had been too European, literary, and not practical enough, thereby creating a class of intellectuals not trained to perform a definite function in their society, constantly discontented with British rule. Furthermore, it was generally believed that education for the masses in the tongue of the people had not kept pace with Europeanized education. The result was a wide gap between the educated and the rest of the population.⁶²

Egyptian education was molded by Britain's consul general, Cromer, who supported the widely held criticisms of Indian education. It was Cromer's goal to keep the educational structure in step with the progress of the country, turning out only as many graduates of the higher schools as could be gainfully absorbed into the system. His great fear was that large enrollments in the state secondary schools and higher schools or colleges would create a class of discontented and unemployed intellectuals, prepared to use their superior education to disrupt the steady progress of the country. He opposed the creation of an Egyptian university on the grounds that Egypt had not yet reached sufficient political and social maturity to profit from freedom of academic pursuit. In the schools of law, medicine, and engineering he supported curriculum changes designed to make education more practical and oriented toward turning out technically competent individuals rather than persons with a depth and balance of learning. At the same time he stressed education in the rudimentary subjects through the vernacular language for the mass of the population. This form of mass education, Cromer explained, would make individuals more productive members of society and would also make them less susceptible to the distorted ideas of Egyptian critics and would-be rabble

⁶¹ There are numerous descriptions of the repairing of the barrage. Of particular interest are R. H. Brown, *The Delta Barrage of Lower Egypt* (Cairo, 1902), and the report of Scott-Moncrieff in Baring to Salisbury, No. 209, June 27, 1890, PRO, FO 78/4310.

⁶² These were the findings of the Hunter Commission which met in 1882 and 1883 and which undoubtedly influenced Cromer's policies in Egypt.

rousers. Commenting on education in India, Cromer said that Indian education was "too literary; insufficient attention [was] paid to professional, technical, and industrial education. Moreover, not enough attention [had] been paid to elementary education with the result that nothing had been done to temper the ignorance of the masses."⁶³ Mass education in Egypt, according to Cromer, was to consist of "the three R's in the vernacular language; nothing more."⁶⁴ In a letter to a colleague Cromer set forth some of the main features of his educational philosophy and indicated his debt to India.

The more I have lived in the East the more I have been convinced that in many respects, notably in matters connected with education, India furnished rather an object lesson in what should be avoided. As to education, we have created a superficially educated upper class . . . and we have done absolutely nothing towards furnishing an antidote in the way of raising the general level of education throughout the country, in order in some degree to balance the influence of the agitator. . . . In the meantime, here I am taking to heart the lesson of India, that is to say without discouraging higher education, I am doing all I can to push forward both elementary and technical education. I want all the next generation of Egypt to be able to read and write. Also, I want to create as many carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, etc., as I possibly can.⁶⁵

In accordance with Cromer's ideas on education the first step taken by the British was to restrict the number of state schools and the number of students in attendance, financial pressures making this step all the more necessary. The number of primary and secondary schools was not drastically reduced, as these schools had been subject to severe economic pressures in the age of Ismail. The number of students admitted to the schools was restricted, however, by requiring the students' families to pay school tuition for their children.⁶⁶ This change effectively limited education in the government schools to the children of reasonably wealthy parents. Among the higher schools there were general suppression and consolidation of institutions, resulting in the elimination of all the higher schools of Ismail's age with the exception of the schools of law, medicine, and engineering.⁶⁷ Under the pressure of the British administrators these schools were compelled to introduce more practical courses into their curriculums.⁶⁸

Easily the most important step in this decade was the formalization of the close link existing between the educational system and the bureaucracy.

⁶³ Lord Cromer, *Speeches and Miscellaneous Writings, 1882-1911* ([London,] 1912), 296.

⁶⁴ Cromer to A. G. Fremantle, Dec. 17, 1896, Cromer Papers, PRO, FO 633/VIII.

⁶⁵ Cromer to Strachey, Apr. 3, 1906, *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Baring to Rosebery, No. 35, June 3, 1886, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 2 (1887), XCIII, c. 4941.

⁶⁷ There were other technical schools such as the military school, the police school, and the normal schools for training teachers, but these cannot be considered higher schools.

⁶⁸ The curriculum changes of the school of medicine are discussed in the *British Medical Journal*, I (Feb. 1890), 323.

Egyptians had come to regard education as the steppingstone to secure government positions. Mohammed Ali and Ismail both had relied extensively on government schools to provide recruits for the civil service. In 1892 the British regularized this relationship. The Egyptian civil service was divided into two ranks, a higher rank, open only to holders of the secondary certificate, and a lower rank for holders of primary certificates.⁶⁹ To be sure, these reforms were carried out in response to the demands of the people, also so as to eliminate the inequities and confusion in the bureaucracy. At the same time one reason Cromer favored the new system was that it would elevate the functional side of education and encourage graduates of government schools to seek steady employment. It was further expected that the lawyers, engineers, and doctors graduated by the higher schools would also be absorbed into gainful employment.

The Indianization of the Egyptian administration was, of course, never complete. Many branches of the government were largely unaffected by British rule. Egypt still reflected in 1914 its French orientation and the influence of its early modernizers, Mohammed Ali and Ismail. The provincial administration was essentially that created in the age of Mohammed Ali, while the social life of the wealthy and sophisticated was dominated by French culture. As an English judicial adviser put it: "Today [1922] a young Egyptian who has learned English at school finds that he has to learn French when he grows up, in order to engage in business and to mix in society. . . . After forty years of the British occupation Egypt is still in a legal and cultural sense a French colony."⁷⁰

Three factors accounted in large part for the fact that Indianization was not carried more deeply into the Egyptian administration. In the first place many of the pre-occupation institutions were too well established to be supplanted. French law was a case in point. Although the British modified the Egyptian judicial system to a certain extent, they were never able to introduce Indian codes. French law had been introduced formally at the time of the creation of the Mixed Courts, and it was far better known than Anglo-Indian law.

Secondly, the amount of money available for administrative reform severely limited the programs that could be undertaken. Undoubtedly the major reason the British did not interfere more actively in the operations of the provincial administration, which they regarded as grossly inefficient, was that

⁶⁹ Cromer discussed this reform in his *Annual Report of 1893 in House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Egypt No. 3 (1893), III, c. 6957.

⁷⁰ Quoted in Brinton, *Mixed Courts of Egypt*, 147.

the treasury could not have borne the expense. The shortage of funds required the British to be selective in the programs they supported. In large part, this factor accounted for the success of the irrigation services and the relatively unsatisfactory operations of other departments such as education and public health. As Lord Milner wrote, "We undertook a great deal at first which we afterwards abandoned or grew callous about. When we found ourselves in hot water all round, and money was scarce, we determined to confine ourselves to one or two great departments and to let the rest take their chance."⁷¹ That the decision to emphasize certain departments of the government at the expense of others was resented by the Egyptians and that this decision created an imbalance in Egypt's modernization cannot be denied. But at least in the first decade of the occupation it is difficult to see how the British could have used their limited resources any more efficiently.

The third factor limiting Indianization was a corollary of the second: the lack of financial support from the English government. The principle, laid down by successive British governments in the nineteenth century, was that colonies had to pay for themselves. In the case of Egypt this position was strengthened by England's promise to withdraw from Egypt, and, in the minds of many Englishmen, financial involvement in the affairs of Egypt, far from hastening the day of evacuation, would postpone it. There is no better example of this state of mind than the attitude of Sir William Harcourt, a member of Gladstone's last cabinet (1892-1894). When asked to support a request of Cromer's that the English treasury assume the expenses of the British army of occupation in Egypt, he rejected this proposal and wrote that it was "the boldest move in the direction of annexation which has yet been attempted. It is one, in my opinion, that it would be impossible to defend upon any principle which we have hitherto avowed in regard to our occupation of Egypt, and therefore if a telegraphic reply is required, I have no difficulty in saying that it should be in the briefest possible shape of an emphatic No!"⁷² Even in the darkest days of Egypt's race against insolvency, the home government could not be relied upon for financial support. What the Egyptian government could not finance by itself, therefore, it could not expect to be done.

The British were, of course, aware of the vast difference between India and Egypt. There never was any intention to make Egypt into a replica of British India. Indeed, India with its large, diffuse population, its different administrative and geographical divisions, presented a striking contrast to

⁷¹ Lord Milner, *England in Egypt*, 358.

⁷² A. G. Gardiner, *The Life of Sir William Harcourt* (2 vols., London, 1923), II, 322.

Egypt with its more homogeneous population and administration. But wherever Indian experience seemed applicable, the British officials consciously and intentionally seized upon it. Their correspondence is full of references to Indian models. The British administrators invariably consulted Indian programs before embarking upon administrative reforms. Indeed, the term Indianization was familiar to most of these officials. Within certain limits, therefore, Egyptian modernization during the British occupation was guided by Indian models. It was carried out by English officials, drawn almost exclusively from India. By the outbreak of the First World War, Anglo-Indian institutions had assumed a position of real importance in Egypt, having usurped, in many cases, the dominant position held by French institutions in the earlier part of the century.

"The Weakened Spring of Government": A Study in Nineteenth-Century American History

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THE Union Pacific, as everyone knows, was a railroad company that secured vast wealth from the government and wasted it in riotous living.¹ In time its profligate ways were discovered, and an angry nation sentenced the culprit to the perpetual flames of hostility and investigation. To this judgment of contemporaries, historians have added little, and chronicles of the robber barons and the "great barbecue" commonly start with the story of the Union Pacific.² One cannot help seeing, however, that the verdict is one-sided. It notices only the conduct of the company and the company's alleged success in corrupting the government. But what of the conduct of the government and its effects upon the company? Congress passed various laws, which were executed in at least certain obvious respects. Are the manner of passing the laws and the details of executing them without consequence? This can be true only if we are sure that the government was at all times efficient and impartial, its actions straightforward and predictable. The government of the United States was supposedly a disinterested sovereign, writing and executing law for the public good. In practice it was probably less than this, but we have seldom reckoned seriously with this probability. We are in fact so accustomed to assuming that American political society was basically sound that the intrusion of a blatant defect is accounted an abnormality.³ In such fashion we commonly dispose of the Union Pacific's rascalities and of a regrettable handful of episodes contemporary with it. A closer study of the grinding of the wheels of government illumines these events by suggesting

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¹ This article is based upon a paper read at a joint meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Lexington Group at Louisville, Kentucky, April 28, 1960. The evidence for some of the statements is too voluminous for citation, and the footnotes are often only suggestive of its character. Unfortunately the archives of the Union Pacific Railroad Company have not been open to me.

² A recent exception is Robert William Fogel, *The Union Pacific Railroad; A Case in Premature Enterprise* (Baltimore, 1960).

³ For a vigorous statement of this idea, see Bernard Weisberger, "The Dark and Bloody Ground of Reconstruction Historiography," *Journal of Southern History*, XXV (Nov. 1959) 427-47.

that they were more typical than otherwise, that they were in fact symptoms of a deeper and more pervasive ailment.

The most promising kind of inquiry is the microscopic one that a case study permits. The government's relations with the Union Pacific provide a case that is suitable and rewarding. The Union Pacific stood in more intimate relation to the government than almost any other private person or group in the nineteenth century; thus the connections between the two are more than usually instructive. Scrutiny of these relations during the tumultuous years from 1862 to 1873 suggests that the actions of the government had much to do with the troubles of the company and that, in fact, the government hardly governed at all, in any technical sense, where the Union Pacific was concerned. What was true for the Union Pacific may have been true for others, and we may at least conjecture about what can be learned from similar inquiries into other appropriate subjects.

One who reads the debates in Congress relating to the Pacific railroads encounters a number of persistent themes. Members from states adjacent to the road wrangled interminably; some few members objected doggedly but vainly to the efforts of private interests; and a majority in both houses were absent or silent. After several days of fruitless protest during the debates in 1862 Justin Morrill complained to the House:

I have been somewhat astonished that a matter of so great importance as this bill should claim so small a share of the attention of the House. . . . Here is a measure in which the Government is about to embark, involving the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars, and yet amendments are offered and voted in, according to the will of the gentlemen having charge of the measure, without the slightest apparent interest or attention upon the part of a majority of the House as to their character or effect.⁴

In 1864 the various companies building the Pacific railroad called upon Congress for a larger subsidy, and for other changes in the law. By this time the Union Pacific had come into the hands of a clever Wall Street operator named Thomas C. Durant, and eminent railroad men sent up storm warnings. J. Edgar Thomson and William B. Ogden advised leading congressmen that the project was in danger, and one of the New York Central's officers demanded, of all things, that the government take over the enterprise.⁵ In the face of these alarms Congress declined to impose new restraints and, instead,

⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., 1947 (May 5, 1862). For a full discussion of the Act of 1862, see Wallace D. Farnham, "The Pacific Railroad Act of 1862," *Nebraska History*, XLIII (Sept. 1962), 141-67.

⁵ J. Edgar Thomson to Thaddeus Stevens, Jan. 26, 1864, Thaddeus Stevens Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; memo by William B. Ogden, Apr. 26, 1864, J. F. D. Lanier to John Sherman, Apr. 27, 1864, John Sherman Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; J. V. L. Pruyn, *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., 3149 (June 21, 1862).

reduced the government's lien from a first to a second mortgage. When the House passed the bill, 41 per cent of the members were absent; the Senate accepted the second mortgage without debate and without a roll call vote.⁶

The congressman who complained during the debates that "we are asked to confer everything upon this company and to receive nothing at their hands" had a strong case.⁷ The government held a second mortgage to secure its loan, but many congressmen regarded the loan as a gift. The President of the United States would appoint one-fourth of the Union Pacific's directors, but they were a minority without special powers. The companies were bound to construct a "first class railroad," but the law failed to define a "first class railroad." A board of government commissioners would have to approve each section of the road before the subsidies were released, but this safeguard was as futile as a government director said it was:

Even if the Commissioners have nerve enough to reject an imperfectly built Road, yet, the work being done it cannot be undone to any great extent. . . . If you wish a building erected in substantial and perfect manner you must control the materials and workmanship as it progresses, rather than rely upon a condemnation of the work and a legal controversy after it is finished.⁸

Congress might "alter, amend, or repeal" the acts, but most lawyers thought the acts a contract with the companies, and few were disposed to tamper with contracts. Clearly Congress had preserved its record of "delay, indifference, partisanship, and reluctance to provide the [administrators] the resources for effective work."⁹ The nation might later make a hobby of scolding the Union Pacific, but the people's representatives had framed a charter of privileges, not an instrument of restraint.

For the most part the laws were executed in the spirit in which they had been written. Congress provided neither money nor machinery for administering them, and the task fell chiefly to the Secretary of the Interior. One of the Secretaries concerned, John P. Usher, held stock in one of the Pacific railroad companies and was personally associated with some of its promoters.¹⁰ Of all of them only Secretary Harlan displayed much independence or energy. In the spring of 1865 Harlan created an "Engineer Office" in his department, entrusted it with the supervision of the Pacific railroads, and installed at its

⁶ *Ibid.*, 3267 (June 25, 1864), 3458-59 (July 1, 1864).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3022 (June 16, 1864).

⁸ J. L. Williams to James Harlan, Aug. 17, 1865, Railroad Package 242, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, National Archives [hereafter cited as Railroad Package, with appropriate number].

⁹ Leonard D. White, *The Jacksonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1829-1861* (New York, 1954), 162.

¹⁰ Elmo R. Richardson and Alan W. Farley, *John Palmer Usher, Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior* (Lawrence, Kan., 1960), 24-26, 51-62.

head one of the army's ablest engineers, Lieutenant Colonel James H. Simpson. Simpson took his work seriously and threatened to save both government and companies their subsequent embarrassment, but his office vanished before the railroads had laid much track.¹¹ A Congress bent on retrenchment dismissed the Engineer Office as a frill, and Orville Browning, Harlan's successor, saw no reason to protest.

Except under Harlan and Simpson, faulty execution of the law was everywhere the rule. Two or three of the government's directors were able and diligent, but they chanced to be engineers rather than businessmen and seldom inquired into company finance.¹² As watchdogs for the government they accomplished little, owing to their lack of authority and to indifference in the Interior Department. More often than not the job was a sinecure, a politician's prize. As one of them confessed, "I never solicited this place, and it has been given to me rather as a testimonial of my political consistency, than on account of any other value there is in it, and it is on this account that I am desirous of retaining it."¹³ The inspecting commissioners, meanwhile, were turning in useless reports. The reports were usually prepared by company clerks rather than by the commissioners, and often they were signed before the inspection took place. With a few exceptions, each read precisely like all the others, save for its digits. Commissioners reported forty-three times on sections of the Union Pacific, and only in the first and last of these did they suggest even minor defects, despite the fact that when the last rail was laid parts of the road would scarcely bear a locomotive, and a special examination showed that nearly seven million dollars must be spent to make the road acceptable.¹⁴ Until the company's rivals started whispering in his ear Secretary Browning endorsed these reports mechanically and passed them along to President Johnson, who regularly approved them. In effect, the government encouraged the company to build carelessly. In other matters, too, Browning seldom acted without prodding from the company or its rivals. He apparently took no steps to deal with ineffective subordinates or to have Congress correct

¹¹ See *Report of Lt. Col. James H. Simpson to James Harlan*, Nov. 23, 1865 (Washington, D. C., 1865).

¹² See, e. g., the report of Springer Harbaugh to Harlan, July 20, 1865, Railroad Package 241.

¹³ George Ashmun to Andrew Johnson, Sept. 21, 1867, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Appointments Division, Government Directors Union Pacific Railway Company, National Archives.

¹⁴ The reports of the government commissioners, endorsed by the Secretary of the Interior and the President, are filed in Railroad Packages 342-44. For comments on the commissioners' proceedings, see Huntington to Mark Hopkins, July 8, 1868, *Letters from Collis P. Huntington to Mark Hopkins, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and E. B. Crocker* (New York, 1892) [hereafter cited as *Huntington Letters*]; Lewis Levey to Durant, Feb. 8, 1868, Leonard Collection, State University of Iowa Library, I, 3, 26; Frank Denver to Browning, June 8, 1868, Railroad Package 36.

faults in the laws. Like Congress, Browning and his colleagues should have been inspired to vigilance, for by 1869 the files of the Interior Department held disquieting reports about the Union Pacific. The reports seem not to have been noticed.¹⁵ Altogether, the government's conduct was a blend of neglect and irresolution, and one finds nearly as many conscientious persons in company offices as in Washington. In these circumstances the early history of the Union Pacific would probably have been little happier if the government had built it as nervous congressmen proposed in 1864.

There was no lack of activity under the Pacific Railway Acts, but the activity issued from the clamor of private interests rather than from the energy of impartial officers. In the hands of a passive government the statutes took on whatever meaning interested persons chose for them. The defects in government gave rise to the lobby, in these circumstances a necessity as well as an opportunity. Apathy in office tempted the company to extend its powers; the same apathy exposed it to loss of its rights and to the pressures of its rivals. Finding itself at the mercy of an unreliable government, each company felt obliged to send agents to Washington to collect its bounties and to protect itself against the hostile maneuvers of others. In this manner the halls of Congress and the executive departments became annexes to the market place. The law became a tool and government a servant, used or ignored as suited the convenience of interested parties. The executive of another railroad later described the tactic: " 'Let us ask the Commissioners to enforce the law when its violation by others hurts us.' " ¹⁶ It was hard to predict which feature of the law would next become the vehicle for some private undertaking. The provision requiring the company to keep its stock subscription books open was ignored until Jim Fisk persuaded Judge George G. Barnard to insist upon it.¹⁷ Few people seemed to care whether the Union Pacific built a "first class railroad" as required by law until the Central Pacific set out to embarrass the company and delay its workmen.¹⁸ The citizens of Omaha rejoiced in the progress of the road until it seemed to threaten them, whereupon they at once clamored for "a thorough investigation of Pacific RR matters by next con-

¹⁵ See J. L. Williams to Harlan, May 30, 1865, *ibid.*, 240; C. A. Trowbridge to Harlan, Aug. 19, 1865, *ibid.*, 242.

¹⁶ C. E. Perkins to H. Stone, Jan. 9, 1889, quoted in Thomas C. Cochran, *Railroad Leaders, 1845-1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 198.

¹⁷ *James Fisk, Jr., vs. Union Pacific Railroad Company and others*, City and County of New York Supreme Court, July 2, 1868.

¹⁸ Secretary Browning's first inquiry into the quality of UP construction came three days after Huntington had written him complaining about UP work with the object, he wrote Hopkins, of embarrassing the UP. (See Huntington to Hopkins, June 8, 1868, *Huntington Letters*; Huntington to Browning, June 10, 1868, Railroad Package 36; Browning to J. L. Williams and J. S. Rollins, June 13, 1868, Pacific Railroad Letterbook No. 2, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, National Archives.) There is much subsequent evidence that the Central Pacific was behind the periodic investigations of UP construction.

gress."¹⁹ Later, in 1878, the president of the rival Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe directed his agent in Washington to press for legislative curbs on the Union Pacific's finances—curbs that, by mere chance, would make it a less dangerous competitor.²⁰ Law enforcement also varied with the interests of the company, which naturally pressed more zealously for the payment of subsidies than for careful inspection of its track. Even the factional wars inside the Union Pacific reverberated in Washington, as rival groups sought shelter and advantage from the law.²¹ The company's activity in Washington mushroomed with the natural increase of its internal and external problems, until in the early 1870's its lobbyists were groping their way through a dozen tangled disputes.²² At that point the company's fortunes depended largely upon the course of events in Washington. Profits, the price of securities, and relations with competitors were as much political as business problems. The line dividing private from public business faded, and government passed by default into private hands.

The conversion of public officials into spokesmen for a private program was generally not difficult. There was no tradition of public service, no professional governing group. In the debates of Congress and the conduct of executives a man's attitude toward the Pacific railroad varied with his place of residence, business interests, and personal friendships. As a senator in 1862, Browning announced that he must oppose the Pacific railway unless the road were to connect with the line serving his home town. Thaddeus Stevens would not vote for it unless the companies were compelled to use American iron.²³ Collis P. Huntington obtained favors from the Interior Department through Browning's recent law partner, Thomas Ewing, Jr., and Grenville Dodge prevailed upon Grant's close friend and aid, John Rawlins, for advantage for the Union Pacific.²⁴ Many congressmen, government directors, and other officials were indebted to one or another company for contracts, land, stock, or help in elections.²⁵ The most costly bit of lobbying doubtless occurred in passing the act of 1864; as one agent reported, "To meet all of our engage-

¹⁹ N. P. Dodge to Dodge, May 26, 1865, Grenville M. Dodge Papers, box 10, Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines.

²⁰ Thomas Nickerson to J. Sterling Morton, Apr. 16, 1878, J. Sterling Morton Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society.

²¹ See, e. g., B. M. Boyer to Durant, Jan. 4, 1868, Leonard Collection, I, 3, 32.

²² General Dodge recalled the company's contests in Washington in 1870 and 1871 in a letter to Sidney Dillon, Aug. 17, 1874, Dodge Papers, box 382.

²³ *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., 2812 (June 19, 1862), 1909 (May 1, 1862).

²⁴ Huntington to Hopkins, June 8, June 10, 1868, *Huntington Letters*; E. S. Parker, for J. A. Rawlins, to G. M. Dodge, Feb. 26, 1869, Dodge Papers, box 156.

²⁵ For example: L. D. M. Sweat to Durant, May 6, 1864, Leonard Collection, I, 3, 32; C. T. Sherman to Durant, Nov. 29, 1866, *ibid.*, 3, 26; G. W. Frost to G. M. Dodge, Jan. 19, 1869, Dodge Papers, box 156; Huntington to Charles Crocker, Feb. 21, 1868, and Huntington to Hopkins, Oct. 23, 1868, *Huntington Letters*.

ments, in both Senate and House, it will require not short of 400 Bonds and at least \$25,000 in money."²⁶ Altogether, "conflicts of interest" were common enough that Oakes Ames's celebrated favors to congressmen lack significance.

Nor did the companies need to take much initiative in securing cooperation in Washington. Men in all branches of government sought an annual pass. Those who had been promised cash and bonds in 1864 pursued their rewards importunately.²⁷ Army officers stationed in Union Pacific towns complained that they had been slighted in the distribution of town lots.²⁸ The Pacific railroad seemed to many congressmen a part of the loaves and fishes of patronage, and they sought both jobs and passes for their constituents. Vice-President Schuyler Colfax wanted some fifty passes from Huntington, who confessed that "as he is President of the Senate and can help or hurt us much I have not refused him yet, but think I shall be compelled to." James G. Blaine called repeatedly for favors, writing on one occasion that "I will be personally obliged" if a pass were sent to a Mrs. Marble, adding, "What about the chance for young Stinson. My protege for whom I asked a place in yr ticket Dept?"²⁹ Favors aside, some congressmen came to rely upon interested parties for advice in the discharge of their duties. One senator complained after a losing vote for the Union Pacific that he had "had no posting" and "had to work in the Dark."³⁰ Another, respected for his independence, observed to the president of the Burlington road that "those who are disposed to be friendly to you do not know how to act, because they are ignorant of what you have concluded is the true policy of your companies & there is no one here to enlighten them."³¹ In various ways, it appears, public officials made up for their reluctance to govern with a willingness, even eagerness, to abandon the public interest, and contending parties had only the straightforward task of outbidding and outmaneuvering each other.

To follow convention we should be saying that weak government resulted from private pressures. The sight of this convention's standing on its head may cause some disquiet. Doubtless cause and effect became tangled at an early stage, and a long progression ensued. Yet it is difficult to blame the lobbies for indifference and absenteeism in Congress, for the inertia of administrative

²⁶ J. B. Stewart to Durant, July 3, 1864, Leonard Collection, III, 3, 14.

²⁷ Stewart to Durant, Nov. 22, 1864, *ibid.*

²⁸ Lieutenant Colonel H. R. Mizner to Dodge, May 13, 1868, Dodge Papers, box 15; Brevet Major General John Gibbon to Dodge, June 22, 1868, *ibid.*, box 154.

²⁹ Huntington to Leland Stanford, Apr. 30, 1869, *Huntington Letters*; Blaine to Dodge, June 27, 1869, Dodge Papers, box 158; see also, as examples of others, Senator J. M. Howard to Durant, Dec. 27, 1868, Leonard Collection, III, 3, 21; Senator George H. Williams to Durant, May 25, 1869, *ibid.*, 3, 2.

³⁰ S. J. Kirkwood to Dodge, July 13, 1866, Dodge Papers, box 151.

³¹ James W. Grimes to James F. Joy, Jan. 14, 1867, James F. Joy Papers, Burton Historical Collections, Detroit Public Library.

officers when they were left alone, and for the willingness of so many of them to be pressured. We know from the writings of Leonard White, Earl Pomeroy, and others that ineffective government was the rule rather than the exception for much of the nineteenth century,³² and we may be sure that inept officers sat behind many a door through which few lobbyists had ever passed.

That the frailty of American government went beyond the Pacific Railway Acts, that it had an existence of its own apart from the lobby, is the more certain from other facets of the history of the Union Pacific. The company depended upon the government for more than its charter and a subsidy. Like the citizens of the nation, it required order, stability, and protection for its property. The road made its way through regions that were subject to federal authority, and the company was entitled to expect the government to bring order to the West before summoning its citizens to build a railroad there. The company discovered very soon that this had not been done. Except in eastern Nebraska and parts of Utah, Indian violence was common and civil government unknown. It fell to the company, therefore, to bring order to a vast region. Federal instruments lay at hand, slightly used, in the army and the system of territorial government. Seizing these instruments, the company subdued and organized its domains.

Any careful government would have had the Indians in hand before the first locomotive appeared on the Platte. Many of the Indians were quite out of hand, however, and each rail that went down gave them a fresh grievance. Meanwhile, thousands of people trailed the railroad and its costly properties into a region devoid of effective civil government. Seeking protection for their property against a boisterous population, the company's officers turned naturally to the army. If they seemed to call for special favors it was only proper for, they observed, theirs was substantially a government enterprise. They won their case easily, as General Grant seemed to imply.

Now that Government has assumed the obligation to guarantee the bonds of the Pacific Railroad, it becomes a matter of great pecuniary interest to see it completed as soon as possible. Every protection practicable should be given by the military.³³

To restrain both Indians and whites the army was virtually loaned to the Union Pacific, and Grenville Dodge became almost *de facto* commander of the Department of the Platte.³⁴ Old, scattered posts were abandoned and new

³² White, *Jacksonians*, and *The Republican Era, 1869-1901* (New York, 1958); Earl S. Pomeroy, *The Territories and the United States, 1861-1900* (Philadelphia, 1947).

³³ U. S. Grant to W. T. Sherman, Jan. 26, 1867, Dodge Papers, box 152. General Sherman's interest in assisting the Union Pacific is discussed at length in R. G. Athearn, *William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West* (Norman, Okla., 1956).

³⁴ See, e.g., General Order No. 18, Department of the Platte, Apr. 29, 1867, Records of United States Army Commands, National Archives; and Brevet Major H. G. Litchfield to O. P. Hurford, Omaha, May 29, 1867, Letters Sent, Department of the Platte, *ibid.*

ones built along the railroad, while most of the troops found themselves posted to guard the company's surveyors, workmen, stations, or bridges. At the company's request detachments went out to quell riots, bounce whiskey traders from construction camps, and even to corral rioting laborers at a company coal mine.³⁵ The company had particular difficulty with "squatters" on its town sites. This was a delicate matter, for the company was selling lots in towns to which it had as yet no title, and the "squatters" offered a brisk challenge. But Dodge supplied choice lots to army officers, who found it possible to uphold the company's claims.³⁶

As a police force the army was convenient but impermanent, and the company hastened to sponsor more conventional forms of government. The energy with which it created and managed the machinery of territorial government is most evident in Wyoming. In 1867 and 1868 the company prevailed upon Congress to split off Wyoming from Dakota Territory.³⁷ For some years thereafter the new territory consisted chiefly of Union Pacific towns and property, and the thinnest of lines separated company from government. Territorial officers called so regularly upon Dodge that his office in Council Bluffs was probably the most eligible site for the capital of Wyoming. As the chief justice of the territory admitted, "We most earnestly desire your concurrence and cooperation in all things pertaining to our young Territory and its welfare for we well know how much you can aid us."³⁸ The company did not always prevail among the bickering political factions, but its rebuffs had a way of turning up in Washington, where an objectionable law might be repealed or an officer threatened with removal.³⁹ When the editor of a Wyoming newspaper wrote that "It is of more vital importance to us who is Superintendent of the Road, than who is President of the United States,"⁴⁰ he

³⁵ For discussion of the labor dispute, see Major General C. C. Augur to Adjutant General, May 6, 1871, *ibid.*; for an illustration of general police duty, see Lieutenant M. L. Brand to Captain Arthur McArthur, July 7, 1868, Letters Sent, Ft. Bridger, Records of Army Commands, National Archives.

³⁶ Dodge's management of the town sites is described in letters to Sidney Dillon, Aug. 17, 1874, Dodge Papers, box 382, and to William E. Chandler, July 18, 1874, William E. Chandler Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. The extent to which army officers received lots in Laramie can be seen in W. G. Bent to Durant, May 4, 1868, Leonard Collection, I, 1, 22.

³⁷ J. B. Chaffee to John Evans, Nov. 30, 1867, John Evans Collection, box 9, Colorado State Archives; Minute Book of House of Representatives, Committee on Territories, 1868, Legislative Branch, National Archives.

³⁸ J. H. Howe to Dodge, Dec. 27, 1869, Dodge Papers, box 16; for other examples, see Governor J. A. Campbell to Dodge, May 20, 1869, *ibid.*; Campbell to Dodge, July 20, 1870, *ibid.*, box 17; Church Howe to Dodge, Oct. 30, 1871, *ibid.*, box 18.

³⁹ In the spring of 1870, for example, the company induced Congress to repeal laws of Wyoming Territory obnoxious to the company. During the same season, the company persuaded President Grant and the Attorney General to threaten one of the Wyoming Supreme Court justices with removal if a pending case were decided against the company. For illustrations of company activity in these matters, see Ames to Dodge, May 4, May 21, 1870, U. H. Painter to Dodge, May 18, 1870, Dodge Papers, box 160; Painter to Dodge, May 9, 1870, *ibid.*, box 17.

⁴⁰ Laramie *Daily Sentinel*, Oct. 5, 1870.

paid homage to a feudal lord who ruled in the absence of a weak sovereign.

We have only to remember as well that the railroad served as regional land agent to conclude that it was the Union Pacific rather than the government that subdued, organized, and settled its portion of the West. The company learned, as the Mormons had before them and others did later, that the semiarid West was hospitable only to those with authority and large resources. The government had yet to learn this lesson, or at any rate to profit from it, and so the Union Pacific seized the government's unused powers and ruled in its place. In the West as in Washington the government failed to govern, and private interests of necessity stepped into the breach. The Union Pacific supplied only *ex parte* government, to be sure, and if for a time this seemed better than nothing, it would in due course be resented. As rival interests gained strength in its territory, the company would become only one faction among many, and its affairs would be as troubled in the West as they were in Washington.

That the government neglected its duties is clear enough. It had nonetheless delivered its subsidy into the company's vaults, filling out its strange gift of pain and pleasure. What, we may ask, were the results? One of the results, obviously, was a railroad. As the first transcontinental the Union Pacific faced a distressing array of hazards and uncertainties, and without a handsome subsidy it would not have been built for some time. From the subsidy the nation got a railroad and the company its existence. Having admitted what is obvious, however, we are left with the suspicion that the results of this collaboration depended less upon the amount of the subsidy than upon the conduct of the government. The subsidy was a product of weakness rather than of generosity, and its value was diminished as a result. The terms of the bargain were unduly costly to both sides; by its ineptitude the government nearly vitiated its own contribution. Congress failed to inquire with any care into the costs of building on the central route, with the result that the subsidy was overlarge. The government bonds, and the company bonds they helped to create, should have built the road. The land grant was almost superfluous so far as construction was concerned. It may have brought prestige, but it yielded no cash until the last days of construction when the land-grant bonds were released.⁴¹ Even the bond subsidy would have been excessive if the nature of the route had been known at the

⁴¹ The consequences of ignorance concerning the nature of the route were noted in the Senate in 1869 by Senator William Stewart (Nevada), April 5, and by Senator John Sherman (Ohio), April 6. (*Congressional Globe*, 41 Cong., 1 sess., 504, 545.) The decision to sell the land-grant bonds was made by the Union Pacific board of directors, April 9, 1869. (See extracts from the minutes, Leonard Collection, I, 2, 33.)

outset and construction had been managed properly. It would have been still more excessive if the government had provided an orderly setting for the company's activities. Private business has need "of a calculable legal system and of administration in terms of formal rules," as Max Weber observed.⁴² The government's failure to provide this security worked a discount on the value of its subsidy to the Union Pacific. Thus while the nation wasted its resources the company was lured by its excessive wealth into policies that nearly proved its undoing.

Whatever the effects of the size of the subsidy, its mere existence plunged the Union Pacific into the muddy waters of American government. There it discovered both hazards and opportunities. This was the government by faction of which James Madison had warned, and according to Madison government by faction ends in "instability, injustice, and confusion."⁴³ That this happened with the Pacific railroads is certain. The government being what it was, one could never be really sure that the law, or its application, would not soon be changed, or that it would be enforced at all. We see vividly the chances for mischief in one of the campaigns of Collis P. Huntington, a master in the use of docile government for private advantage. The Central Pacific hoped to exclude the Union Pacific from the Salt Lake Valley, but in the summer of 1868 the Central Pacific was losing the race of the track-layers. They could not win, Huntington decided, "unless it is done in Washington,"⁴⁴ and he gave battle accordingly. It was a campaign of sparkling audacity, a blend of bribery and quiet pressure, cartographic sleight of hand, and tireless effort. His chief weapon was the law: every possible legal restraint was to be thrust upon the enemy. The sudden enforcement of the law baffled the Union Pacific, understandably enough, but it managed to fight back with similar methods. Chaos prevailed, and the Union Pacific nearly collapsed in the financial crisis that resulted. On the Johnson administration's last day in office Huntington roared out of Washington with the right to build to Ogden and part of the subsidy for the task, though his company was still 175 miles from the town while the enemy was even then nearing its outskirts. "This was the biggest fight I ever had in Washington," he crowed, "and it cost a considerable sum, but I thought it of so much importance that I should have put it through at a much higher price if it had been necessary."⁴⁵ Next day

⁴² Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, tr. Talcott Parsons (New York, 1958), 25.

⁴³ *The Federalist*, ed. Benjamin F. Wright (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 129.

⁴⁴ Huntington to Stanford, June 26, 1868, *Huntington Letters*.

⁴⁵ Huntington to Hopkins, Mar. 5, 1869, *ibid.* The voluminous documentation of this episode is scattered through the *Huntington Letters*, *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, 1850-1881*, ed. T. C. Pease and J. G. Randall (2 vols., New York, 1925-31), the Railroad Packages of the Interior Department, and the Dodge Papers. After trying in vain to have the action set aside,

the Grant administration took over and with it a rising Union Pacific influence, but Huntington's masterful lobbying could not be undone, and the Central Pacific went to Ogden. He had induced pliable officials to revive dormant sections of the law. Creating just the "instability, injustice, and confusion" that Madison had predicted, he won a business victory with the weapons of government.

After the road was finished the subsidy became a heavy liability for the company, quite apart from the legal indebtedness it created. Many officers of the firm must have cursed a form of "help" that exposed the company to incessant public scrutiny and assault and to the uncertainties of the government's procedure, and opened to its rivals in business a covert avenue of attack. In years of fierce business competition and rising hostility toward railroads there could be few worse fates for a railroad company than to be conspicuously indebted to the government. The embarrassments of which Charles Francis Adams complained to the Pacific Railway Commission in 1887 flowed in no small measure from the company's peculiar connection with the government.⁴⁶ It is hard to concur in the recent verdict of a distinguished commentator on Madison's essay that "the rivalry of groups and interests, religious, political, or economic, reformist or reactionary, does serve to help in preventing the kind of oppression and instability feared by Publius."⁴⁷ When Huntington and the Union Pacific quarreled in Washington, instability and a kind of oppression were the chief results, as they were in the subsequent storms that a frail government allowed to flourish. It is no surprise that the Union Pacific found in the government a generous patron but an inconstant ruler. Confusion and uncertainty were costly and vexing and constituted a liability of no mean dimensions.⁴⁸

Whatever the hazards its ties with government created, the Union Pacific was neither innocent nor ineffective in its own use of those ties. In the early 1870's, especially, it gained much for itself by operating in Washington. The connections with government brought other, subtler benefits as well. The company lured investors with a notice that "the Union Pacific Railroad is in fact, a Government work, built under the supervision of Government officers,

the Union Pacific was compelled to make an agreement with the Central Pacific on April 9, 1869, recognizing Huntington's victory. (For a discussion of the UP's plight, see Dodge to Oliver Ames, Apr. 19, 1869, Dodge Papers, box 337.) On April 10 Congress adopted a joint resolution ratifying the agreement between the companies.

⁴⁶ The subject is a recurring one in testimony before the commission; see especially Adams' testimony, *Senate Executive Document*, 50 Cong., 1 sess., No. 51, 982-99.

⁴⁷ Wright, introd. to *The Federalist*, 40.

⁴⁸ Professor Edward C. Kirkland has suggested that dislike of uncertainty was one of the chief sources of businessmen's suspicion of governmental activity. (E. C. Kirkland, *Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860-1900* [Ithaca, N. Y., 1956], 115.)

and to a large extent with Government money.”⁴⁹ To those who complained that its road was poorly built it retorted that the government’s inspectors had found otherwise.⁵⁰ Without its special claim upon the government’s protection the company might have failed to save its western interests from plunder. Governmental directors who held “correct” views were sent to Washington to give “impartial” testimony, while critics might expect to be told that their assaults damaged the government’s investment in the road.⁵¹ General Dodge, the company’s ambassador to the United States, became expert in such matters, and in 1874 he counseled Jay Gould, then new to the company, to have congressional inquisitors “call upon the Gov’t Directors for an opinion in this case—upon the effect of this action upon the Gov’t lien.”⁵² The government’s skirts obviously gave shelter through many storms, and the company used them freely.

Whether, on balance, the company gained or lost from its connection with the government is hard to decide. It gained its existence, but it suffered the losses that must come when government neglects its powers. The government was not unlike the indulgent parent whose child becomes delinquent. The company’s officers acted unwisely at times in construction and finance, but a reckless and supine government opened for them a smooth road to irresponsibility. The company’s lobby in Washington was busy and powerful and at times unethical, but the more honorable paths all led to extinction, or so it might easily have seemed. The company discarded the rule book of the democratic philosophers, but so did its rivals, and, indeed, so did the government. Though the company enjoyed large powers and many liberties, they were the powers and liberties of the jungle—so troubled and insecure that the company would in the long run have been better off under a government that wrote and executed law with a firm, impartial hand.

The company’s position in no way excuses its actions, but it does help to explain them and to assign responsibility more accurately. The government was hardly the author of all of the ills of the Union Pacific, at least not directly. The nature of the project, the character of its leaders, the feuds inside the company and the assaults from without, the momentous disorders and distractions of the 1860’s, and other troubles compounded the problems of the Union Pacific and ordained that it should be at best a precarious venture. Yet

⁴⁹ Union Pacific Railroad Company, *Progress of Their Road West from Omaha, Nebraska, across the Continent* (New York, 1867), 23.

⁵⁰ Oliver Ames to Browning, Aug. 21, 1868, Railroad Package 251.

⁵¹ For example: minutes of UP board (extract), Jan. 3, 1867, and government directors to Browning, Jan. 10, 1867, Railroad Package 248; government directors to Secretary of the Interior, Mar. 11, 1869, *ibid.*, 254.

⁵² Dodge to Gould, June 4, 1874, Dodge Papers, box 382.

in even the most private of these afflictions the government was involved, for it was the direct and deliberate creator of the company and at all times had a hand in its affairs, while its failure to govern tended to aggravate the problems of which it was not the source. At very least the government was an accomplice in trouble, offering the setting and sometimes the tools wanted by men whose private interests collided or whose public virtues were frail. Was it to some extent also the author of such troubles? Not often, perhaps, for at least there could not be lobbying or corruption unless private citizens were willing to engage in these practices. Yet the condition of the government made them so easy as to be almost inevitable, while under some circumstances the government appears chiefly responsible. In 1864, for example, reputable railroad men like J. Edgar Thomson left it to Congress to decide whether the Union Pacific should be run by themselves or by adventurers like Durant.⁵³ Congress chose Durant. Amply warned, it had the power to choose, and it chose the crooked rather than the straight path. Was the government also the chief author of the "education" of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., that model of probity who after two years at the helm of the Union Pacific could bring himself to give out instructions like these?

I want you to go to Washington at once, and fix things up so far as [William B.] Allison and [James F.] Wilson, the two Iowa Senators, are concerned. You know just how the resolve of the Iowa legislature as respects the Pacific railroad funding bill came to be passed. It was done, without any consideration whatever on the part of the legislature, at the request of certain parties in Council Bluffs, who thought they had grievances against us, and who wished to use this thing as a club over our heads. . . . arrange with Allison and Wilson so that any opposition they offer shall be merely formal.⁵⁴

Whether an upright man was being unhinged by the "club over our heads" in a weak government or whether his latent qualities were just emerging is probably impossible to say. Perhaps such episodes are exceptional. Perhaps the government was more commonly accomplice than author in the troubles of the Union Pacific. In either case it was by no means wholly responsible, but its share in the responsibility was a sizable one.

The early fortunes of the Union Pacific, and the story of the "robber barons," are in great part questions of government and of the conditions that shape a particular government. To say that the government created the rob-

⁵³ This is the main point of the letters from Thomson and others cited in note 5, above. They urged that along with the amendments needed to make the project more practicable, Congress require that the board of directors be reorganized. They also showed interest in an enlarged influence for the government in the project.

⁵⁴ Adams to Dodge, May 7, 1886, Dodge Papers, box 164. Edward C. Kirkland discusses Adams' predicament in "Divide and Ruin," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIII (June 1956), 3-17, esp. 11-12; he quotes this letter more briefly, though its date is misprinted.

ber barons is to utter at least part of the truth. If the United States in the Gilded Age contained ambitious men with elastic principles, and if it presented these men with temptation, this was not so very unusual. The arresting fact for the historian, the key to understanding the subject, is the shelter and encouragement afforded these children of Adam. If the managers of the Union Pacific were at times wayward in their actions we must say so, but we must say also that much of this would not have occurred, and we should hear very little of the rest if the government had properly discharged its ancient duty, the duty to govern impartially, to maintain order and justice, and to curb the Adam in its citizens.

We have lately heard much talk about the role of government in American history, a discussion rising at first from the desire to learn whether governments had in the nineteenth century followed the policies of *laissez faire* of which orators were wont to speak. Able scholars have found new ways of looking at a subject that is in many respects quite old. It has been no trouble to show that the kind of program William Graham Sumner desired was nowhere in force.⁵⁵ Amid this new knowledge and wisdom, however, a few ambiguities and contradictions survive. We may read, often in a single book, of government's odious deals with robber barons on the one hand and its wholesome aid to private citizens on the other, leaving us wondering where-in lies the difference between the tycoon and his unrebuked cousin. We have painstaking accounts of government's partnership in "mixed" enterprises, but alongside them we must place Leonard White's portraits of a government too inept to share usefully in any substantial venture. Historians of the West describe a government whose vigor was indispensable to that region, building roads and priming the pump with contracts and salaries;⁵⁶ yet they show that the same government was an incorrigible bungler that presided weakly over territorial government, Indian affairs, and the distribution of lands.⁵⁷ At a much deeper level, two of the ablest commentators on the American past reach conclusions that seem wholly unmarriageable: David Potter writes of "the constant endeavor of government to make the economic abundance of the nation accessible to the public";⁵⁸ yet David Donald describes a "gradual

⁵⁵ A recent summary of parts of this inquiry is in Carter Goodrich, *Government Promotion of American Canals and Railroads, 1800-1890* (New York, 1960).

⁵⁶ William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863* (New Haven, Conn., 1959); Athearn, *William Tecumseh Sherman*; Howard R. Lamar, *Dakota Territory, 1861-1889: A Study of Frontier Politics* (New Haven, Conn., 1956).

⁵⁷ See Pomeroy, *Territories*; Mary E. Young, "The Creek Frauds: A Study in Conscience and Corruption," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLII (Dec. 1955), 411-37; John B. Rae, "Commissioner Sparks and the Railroad Land Grants," *ibid.*, XXV (Sept. 1938), 211-30; Paul W. Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954).

⁵⁸ David Potter, *People of Plenty* (Chicago, 1954), 123.

erosion of all authority" that would put such reasoned and deliberate programs in the realm of things not possible.⁵⁹ What policies, if there were any policies, can we discern in this muddled picture? Were governments corrupt or benevolent, strong or weak, vigorous or inert? Apparently we shall have no answers until we discover some new formula that accommodates these warring facts, or, perhaps, new questions to ask of the facts.

The contours of a solution rise from the pages of a remarkable book that is not new, M. I. Ostrogorski's *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*. What tasks did the people assign to government? What kinds of duties did they ask it to discharge? Ostrogorski answers with a distinction of which Americans have been too little aware. "The notion of the moral objects of the State grew dim in the public mind, the State was asked only to ensure or assist the production of wealth."⁶⁰ The "moral objects" of government presumably have at their heart the guarantee of justice, a guarantee whose execution demands a reservoir of power and authority, detached from private interests and directed in the first instance toward the creation of an orderly community. Whatever else it may do, a government must first of all govern. If it does not do this, it can hardly do anything else very effectively. If it fails to maintain order and justice and to use its powers with reasonable detachment and impartiality, then its efforts to "assist the production of wealth" will be partisan and confused. In reminding us of this, Ostrogorski left a tool that is invaluable in exploring the government's connection with the Union Pacific and its place in nineteenth-century history.

In its dealings with the Union Pacific the United States government tried to perform the second of these tasks while it shirked the first. It subsidized, but it did not rule. The subsidy was faulty in design, therefore, because it was more a result of pressures than of policies. It was perilous to its "beneficiaries" and chaotic in its results because the government persistently failed to govern. What was labeled corruption was a result rather than a cause of the defects in the government, a mere symptom of a more pervasive flaw. What the world has called policies were nothing of the kind, as a rule, but only a rationale for the more palatable results of weakness.

That the experience of the Union Pacific has a wider application seems likely enough. Indeed, it offers a tool for cutting through some of the ambiguities and contradictions that we have noticed. The government's peculiar blend of weakness and vigor in the West, for example, had nothing anom-

⁵⁹ David Donald, *Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era* (2d ed., New York, 1961), 228.

⁶⁰ M. I. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (2 vols., London, 1902), II, 577.

alous or contradictory about it. The "vigor" is misleading, for it was the vigor of private citizens acting for private ends through a weak government. The government's failure to govern could thus lead at the same time to a lack of control in the West and to lucrative subsidies for the region. Other contradictions vanish as easily as this one. An inept government could obviously take plunges into "mixed" enterprises; this is precisely what happened in the case of the Union Pacific. It could help an enterprise with one law and hinder it with another or with feeble enforcement of the first one. More generally, the government might be afflicted by a "gradual erosion of all authority," as Donald contends, and still seem to try "to make the economic abundance of the nation accessible to the public," as Potter asserts. For the erosion of authority did not carry with it the erosion of powers, as Donald might seem to imply. It meant only that the powers were not used by the government, and that "policies," such as the one Potter describes, were private rather than public in origin. Ostrogorski's conclusion is a compelling one:

From one end of the scale to the other, the constituted authorities are unequal to their duty; they prove incapable of ensuring the protection of the general interest, or even place the power which has been entrusted to them by the community at the disposal of private interests. The spring of government is weakened or warped everywhere.⁶¹

What caused the spring to weaken is a question of great interest and meaning. It is also a question that we cannot answer in these pages. Only a persistent inquiry into the attitude of the citizens toward government will yield a full answer. For surely the prime sources of a so persistent a trait of government are more plausibly sought in the mass of citizens than in scattered groups of conspiring rascals. We may well ask anew whether the people were genuinely reconciled to having a government of laws rather than of men, and, indeed, whether they were even reconciled to having any sort of government worthy of the name. The answer is likely to go well beyond Ostrogorski's doctrine of political parties and the caucus. That it will extend to the deepest roots of democracy in America is altogether probable, and we may at the end find elements of what Donald has called "an excess of democracy."⁶²

Nor can we speak with much more assurance about the effects of this weakened spring. Leonard White sketched the outlines of a government that was ineffective for much of the nineteenth century, but his volumes are only exploratory, as he himself warned, and he made little effort to probe the consequences of the conditions he found. The path to understanding in this

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 550.

⁶² Donald, *Lincoln Reconsidered*, 209-35.

matter seems likely to lead us through a great many inspections of the detailed operations of government in every branch of its activities. If we are to understand the obvious and formal acts of government better than we do, we must have minute-by-minute investigations of their origin and operations. We shall have to discard the habit of taking largely for granted the operations of an office or of a statute and make way for the truism that the text of a law is about as revealing as the exposed part of an iceberg.

With the experience of the Union Pacific before us, we may venture a forecast of the results of such inquiries. Surely we will decide that it is usually irrelevant to ask what policies the government pursued in any matter, and whether or not it exhibited a laissez faire attitude toward business. That it did not stand aloof from business is clear. But even when it seemed to, it was not so much a government of limited powers, based on notions of laissez faire, as a government that failed to use the powers it had.⁶³ As one military commander explained, "The people scattered through the territories are expected to themselves organize so as to protect their own lives and property."⁶⁴ Or, as a Secretary of War once wrote about Indian affairs, "there appears to have been scarcely any other rule to guide the Officers and agents in the discharge of their functions, . . . than their own several notions of justice and policy."⁶⁵ The task of governing was left to private enterprise or a social compact, the use of which is a venerable part of American political behavior. Following this custom, the Union Pacific created its own law. But when the citizens of Omaha, the officers of the Central Pacific, and the speculators in Wall Street each in turn followed suit, the law of the social compact was found to resemble closely the law of the jungle. Corruption and robber barons were only the most fascinating results, the creations of an ungoverned people. But it is idle to look for conscious and deliberate policies in a jungle of this kind, and it is just as idle to assume that the execution of a law reflected in any rational way the avowed purpose or the contents of the law.

That the effects of a "weakened spring of government"—to return to Ostrogorski's admirable metaphor—were potentially enormous needs no demonstration. In all likelihood it was a central cause of the troubled history of the West, and of the orgies of the Gilded Age, as in fact the experience of

⁶³ For comparative studies indicating that the Canadian West was governed more successfully than the American, see William J. Trimble, *The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire* (Madison, Wis., 1914), 187-247; Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-up Country: The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885* (Minneapolis, 1955).

⁶⁴ Brevet Major General John Gibbon to Colonel H. A. Morrow, Aug. 26, 1868, Department of the Platte, Rocky Mountain District, Letters Sent, Records of Army Commands, National Archives.

⁶⁵ Secretary of War P. B. Porter to Lewis Cass, July 28, 1828, in *Territorial Papers of the United States*, ed. C. E. Carter (25 vols., Washington, D. C., 1934-), XI, 1195.

the Union Pacific plainly suggests. Whether it also produced the Civil War, as Donald asserts, is less obviously true. We may safely conclude, though, that the spring was almost as weak before the war as after, and that in this respect as in others⁶⁶ the war wrought fewer changes than it is now fashionable to believe. The same line of inquiry may turn up fresh understanding of the recurring crusades for political reform, those fervent but largely futile campaigns to repair the faults of democracy by making it more democratic. But whatever the result of these and similar investigations, we are left with the near certainty that Americans in the nineteenth century asked the impossible of their government. In requiring that it subsidize without governing, that it transfer the nation's resources into their hands without ensuring justice and order,⁶⁷ they made it certain that the "spring of government" would be weakened and warped. This basic flaw in the nation's political society became a central fact in the early history of the Union Pacific. Perhaps the study of kindred subjects with this theme in mind will permit us to decide that it was a central fact in the history of the United States in the last century.

⁶⁶ See Thomas C. Cochran, "Did the Civil War Retard Industrialization?" *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVIII (Sept. 1961), 197-210.

⁶⁷ For an interesting statement of this theme, from the standpoint of legal history, see James Willard Hurst, *Law and the Conditions of Freedom in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (Madison, Wis., 1956).

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Provincial Noble: A Reappraisal

ROBERT FORSTER *

THE historian's picture of the French provincial nobleman of the eighteenth century has been modeled on literary caricature to an unusual degree. Other social groups have been better treated. The peasantry have been studied meticulously from archival sources region by region since Georges Lefebvre's famous thesis in 1924.¹ Urban classes have been treated less thoroughly, but at least the liberation from literary sources seems complete. The provincial nobility, however, remain closely tied to the literary image of Molière and Jean de la Bruyère, of P. A. C. de Beaumarchais and François René de Chateaubriand. The picture, sometimes melancholy, more often ridiculous, is that of a proud but dull rustic condemned to poverty and idleness in a crumbling provincial château. In a word, the *hobereau* or "sparrow-hawk" is still the term most often employed to depict the rural noblesse.

Were this literary image confined to a corporal's guard of nostalgic apologists for the old regime such as Frantz Funck-Brentano and Pierre Gaxotte, there would be little need to explore the question.² But the stereotype has deeply penetrated the works of more judicious historians of eighteenth-century France. Philippe Sagnac draws a sharp contrast between the "poor provincial gentilshommes" and the "place-seeking court nobility" with only a brief bow to the "moyenne noblesse" of the Mirabeau stripe.³ Henri Carré

* The author of *The Nobility of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore, 1960) and an associate professor at Dartmouth College, Mr. Forster is interested mainly in the social and economic history of the old regime in France, especially the provincial nobility. He presented this paper at the meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies in 1962.

¹ Georges Lefebvre, *Les paysans du Nord pendant la Révolution française* (Lille, 1924).

² Frantz Funck-Brentano, *The Old Regime in France* (London, 1929), 99-107; Pierre Gaxotte, *La Révolution française* (Paris, 1928), Chap. 11, and *Le siècle de Louis XV* (2 vols., Paris, 1935), II, 188.

³ Philippe Sagnac, *La formation de la société française moderne* (2 vols., Paris, 1945), II, 165, 226.

writes that the majority of the provincial nobility were "gênés ou même pauvres" and quotes generously from the melancholy memoirs of Chateaubriand.⁴ Even Lefebvre states that "the great majority of nobles either did not know how, or did not wish to get rich."⁵ In another place he refers to the French nobility as "condemned to impoverishment."⁶ It is curious that the monumental rural studies of Lefebvre, Henri Sée, and Marcel Marion have touched so lightly on the country nobility. In these otherwise solid studies there is a marked tendency to treat the social consequences of the seigneurial system without sufficient attention to the operation of the noble estate as an economic unit.⁷

To be sure, not all French historians have been hypnotized by the stereotype. In *Les caractères* Marc Bloch suggested that the rural noblesse were putting their houses in order by 1500 after three centuries of inflationary pressure, while Robert Boutruche elaborated on this adjustment in the Bordelais after the Hundred Years' War.⁸ Perhaps because Bloch and Boutruche were medievalists, their suggestions were not rigorously pursued and applied to the later centuries of the old regime. It is more surprising that Ernest Labrousse's first volumes on price history published in 1932 did so little to shake traditional thinking about the rural nobility.⁹ In this statistical study Labrousse demonstrated, not only that market and wage conditions in the eighteenth century were favorable to the larger landlords, but also that grain and wood prices rose much more sharply than other consumer goods. This had obvious implications for the revenues and expenditures of the rural noble regardless of his supposed indolence and stupidity.

Yet it has only been since Labrousse's more recent work in 1944 and the current French concern with demography that a fresh look has been taken on the subject.¹⁰ Recent regional agrarian studies by Louis Merle and Pierre

⁴ Henri Carré, *La noblesse de France et l'opinion publique au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1920), 93, 117-19. In his recent volume on eighteenth-century France, Alfred Cobban characterizes the noblesse as one vast indebted class prone to gaming, building, and extravagant living. (Alfred Cobban, *A History of Modern France: Old Regime and Revolution 1715-1799* [London, 1957], 129.)

⁵ Georges Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution*, tr. R. R. Palmer (Princeton, N. J., 1947), 14.

⁶ Georges Lefebvre, *Études sur la Révolution française* (Paris, 1954), 321.

⁷ *Id.*, *Paysans du Nord*; Henri Sée, *Les classes rurales en Bretagne du XVI^e siècle à la Révolution* (Paris, 1906); Marcel Marion, *État des classes rurales au XVIII^e siècle dans la généralité de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1902).

⁸ Marc Bloch, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (2 vols., Paris, 1952-56), I, 131-55; Robert Boutruche, *La crise d'une société: Seigneurs et paysans de Bordeaux pendant la guerre de cent ans* (Paris, 1947).

⁹ Ernest Labrousse, *Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenus en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1932).

¹⁰ *Id.*, *La crise de l'économie française à la fin de l'Ancien Régime et au début de la Révolution* (Paris, 1944); Pierre Goubert, "Richesse historique en cours d'exploitation: Les registres paroissiaux," *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, XI (No. 1, 1956), 83-93; Étienne Gautier and Louis Henry, *La population de Crulai, paroisse Normande, étude historique* (Paris, 1958).

de Saint Jacob have treated the nobleman as a far more active and prosperous member of the rural community than have previous monographs of this kind.¹¹ What is needed, however, are regional studies confined to the treatment of the nobility as a distinct social group.

There are special reasons why such studies must be regional. It is commonplace to assert that each region of eighteenth-century France had its geographic, economic, and cultural peculiarities. But studies of the provincial nobility require special attention to local diversities, especially diversities in the inheritance law. Regions where the younger sons and daughters had extensive claims to the paternal estate were likely to be areas where the rural aristocracy was economically weaker (for example, Saintonge). Labrousse's national statistics, moreover, often smother regional variations in agricultural prices and generally disguise unique local economic conditions. It is obvious that the nobility of a grain surplus area such as Toulouse would be better off than the gentry of a rocky, barren region such as Auvergne. Finally, the proximity of a commercially active bourgeoisie may make some difference in the economic activities of the local nobility. It is equally apparent that the interest of the Médoc nobles in winegrowing was not unrelated to the commercial vigor of Bordeaux. It might even be argued that noble enterprise was a response to the local social competition of such commercial groups, though such a stimulus was not, I believe, a *sine qua non* for aggressive noble economic activity.

The thesis I suggest is this. Far from an idle, dull, and impoverished *hobereau*, the provincial noble was as likely to be an active, shrewd, and prosperous landlord. These adjectives are meant to suggest more than a swollen pocketbook. They imply an attitude toward the family fortune characterized by thrift, discipline, and strict management usually implied by the term "bourgeois." The origin of this businesslike outlook or its implications for the French Revolution are not treated here. I am concerned only with furnishing evidence for the thesis that the rural noble was active, keen, and disciplined in the management of his economic affairs. Let me state immediately that the material used here has been taken from only three regions of France—the regions about Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Rennes—areas somewhat smaller than their respective departments today.¹²

Many more regional studies are needed. It may well be that other regions

¹¹ Louis Merle, *La métairie et l'évolution agraire de la Gâtine poitevine de la fin du Moyen Âge à la Révolution* (Paris, 1958); Pierre de Saint Jacob, *Les paysans de la Bourgogne du Nord au dernier siècle de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1960).

¹² The precise areas studied were the civil diocese of Toulouse, the *sénéchaussée* of Bordeaux, and the bishopric of Rennes. The sources fall into four general classifications: administrative correspondence and tax rolls, family accounts, legal documents (leases, wills, contracts, briefs), memoirs and private correspondence.

will substantiate the traditional stereotype. Evidence from these three areas is, nevertheless, ample enough to question the older view.

Historians have long been familiar with the so-called "seigneurial reaction." The "reaction," however, has been too narrowly understood. It was not simply the enforcement of century-old seigneurial dues and the appropriation of common meadow by the local lord. In the regions of Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Rennes, the seigneurial reaction represented a comprehensive adaptation of the noble estate to an expanding market for farm produce. This adaptation included a number of managerial methods applied primarily to the estate proper (*domaine proche*). These methods or techniques included more precise estate accounting joined with the enforcement of seigneurial titles, foreclosure of mortgages of indebted peasants and purchases from neighboring proprietors, reduction of labor and middleman costs through progressive changes in leaseholds, land clearing to increase farm production, and stocking and speculation. The noble estate owner, moreover, exercised his influence at local parlement, estates, or chamber of commerce to champion the physiocratic "bon prix" in grain, improvements in communication, and suppression of communal rights. This pattern of noble activity does not suggest a class of urbanized absentees or fossilized rustics.

Historians have already amply demonstrated the proliferation of more carefully kept account books and rent rolls (*terriers*) in the eighteenth century. I might add only that they vary from the small diary style *livre de raison* found at Toulouse to the more pretentious and detailed *livre de marque* found in the archives of Rennes.¹³ Bound in sturdy cowhide, an account book designed for the new Comte de Piré contains meticulously colored maps of every *métairie*, the revenues of each, and the prices of farm produce over twenty years. Part of the introduction reads: "Such volumes give an exact knowledge of the value [of the estate] and have the double advantage of preventing mistakes and avoiding legal disputes. . . ."¹⁴

It is very possible that the revenue value of seigneurial rights has been overestimated. Among twenty selected estates in the Toulouse area the seigneurial dues represented only 8 per cent of an average gross revenue of 5,750 livres. Among 68 noble estates in the Bordelais, only 5 per cent of the average revenue of 12,700 livres came from seigneurial dues.¹⁵ The use of

¹³ The *livres de raison* are found in Series E of the departmental archives.

¹⁴ Archives Départementales [hereafter cited as AD], Ille-et-Vilaine, 2Er85.

¹⁵ Robert Forster, *The Nobility of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore, 1960), 38-39; AD Gironde, C-3019.

seigneurial obligations as instruments to enlarge noble domain holdings, however, has often gone unnoticed. A careful inspection of private papers and notarial documents will reveal the use of *cens* arrears to force foreclosures on small peasant proprietors. Contracts of sale of land from peasant to seigneur sometimes indicate a deduction of the entire price for *cens* arrears. Similar examples of foreclosure can be found based on noble loans of grain, seed, and coin to needy peasants. Such loans were made at 5 per cent, and careful records were kept.¹⁶

Another seigneurial right employed for domain building was the right of option (*retrait féodal*). This right permitted the lord to buy peasant properties, which had recently been alienated or exchanged, within his seigneurial jurisdiction. In the absence of enclosure acts of the English kind this was a more piecemeal method of forcing peasant sales. The local nobility at Toulouse and Bordeaux frequently employed the *retrait*.¹⁷

Domain building was not limited to small purchases from indebted peasants. Noble proprietors purchased land where they could find it, sometimes exchanging plots far from the administrative center of the domain for properties close to the family château. Measuring the amplitude of what Marc Bloch called "the reconstitution of the domain" is a difficult task.¹⁸ By comparing noble properties declared on the *vingtième* tax rolls of 1750, however, with the same family holdings listed on the *biens des émigrés* of 1790–1793, some interesting indications can be obtained. Of 14 noble families at Toulouse, all but 2 showed gains of 8 to 155 acres in these 40 years. Of 15 families in the Bordelais, all indicated increases in domain holdings of 8 to 300 acres.¹⁹ The sample is limited, but the indications are sufficiently interesting to warrant using the same sources in other regions.

It is also worth noting that domain building at Toulouse was characterized by an acre-by-acre accretion largely at the expense of the peasant holder or *censitaire*. In the Bordelais, on the other hand, the robe nobility were buying up land in substantial blocks (50 to 100 acres) from the older nobility as well as foreclosing on small peasants to add tiny morsels.²⁰ Not all nobles were adding to their estates, of course. In each region new noble houses replaced old, but there was not a clear case of "robe" replacing "sword." Selling out does not necessarily indicate indebtedness; a noble family may have repurchased land elsewhere. Despite these difficulties, it appears that the provincial

¹⁶ Forster, *Nobility of Toulouse*, 51–52; AD Gironde, 3E-20733, 20735.

¹⁷ Forster, *Nobility of Toulouse*, 52–53; AD Gironde, C-3741, C-3019, 9J-603.

¹⁸ Bloch, *Caractères*, I, 140.

¹⁹ Forster, *Nobility of Toulouse*, 55, and "The Noble Wine Producers of the Bordelais in the Eighteenth Century," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., XIV (No. 1, 1961), 31.

²⁰ AD Gironde, C-3019.

nobility in these three areas were increasing their holdings in the two generations before the Revolution.

Enlarged domains were tightly administered. Typical was a complaint from a village community in the Médoc: "Since 1740 the major part of the land has progressively passed out of the hands of the *taille*-payers into those of the privileged who have eliminated many farms, planted vines, and exploited the land by wage labor."²¹ Noble vineyards in the Bordelais were not leased at money rents (*fermage*), but directly worked by day labor at twelve sous, by contract labor at about ten livres per acre, or by shares. Despite complaints of proprietors about the high cost of labor, wages in the vineyards did not change between 1750 and 1789. The famous Baron de Montesquieu reminds us that he too was an active winegrower. "Proprietors," he wrote, "will always complain that labor is too dear, and labor will always claim that it is paid too little."²² Similarly, in the wheat-growing area about Toulouse farms nearest the noble château were worked by *maîtres valets* for an annual subsistence wage.²³

In principle, sharecropping provided that the harvest be divided equally between owner and tenant. In practice, however, the sharecropper of a noble vineyard received much less than half the value of the harvest. Without facilities to store his wine and without access to the Bordeaux market, the sharecropper was obliged to sell to his landlord at prices considerably less than the market price at Bordeaux.²⁴ At Toulouse the sharecropper was scarcely better off. Provisions in the sharecrop contracts were drawn tighter as the century advanced. By 1789, in addition to the customary "half-fruits," the peasant was required to pay a supplementary rent in kind, furnish all the seed, pay a portion of the taxes, and render additional cartage services to the *maître*.²⁵ At Rennes private accounts after 1750 indicate a shift from money rents to a combination of sharecropping and money rent called the *bail à détroit*.²⁶ In all three regions the sharecropper seems to have been little more than a near subsistence farm hand by 1789.

Efforts of the noble landlord to alter crop courses, plant forage crops, and improve the livestock in the contemporary English manner were rare. A few noblemen such as Marquis d'Escouloubre and Comte de Villèle at Toulouse or Marquis de Caradeuc and Marquis de Montluc at Rennes carried out ex-

²¹ *Ibid.*, C-3741.

²² Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *Oeuvres complètes* (2 vols., Paris, 1949), I, 77.

²³ AD Haute-Garonne, C-1312-30 (*vingtième* rolls).

²⁴ AD Gironde, C-2625.

²⁵ Forster, *Nobility of Toulouse*, 56-58.

²⁶ AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 2Er85, 2E-Fonds de Coniac, 65; Sée, *Classes rurales en Bretagne*, 252. See the forthcoming thesis of Jean Meyer on the nobility of Brittany to be published by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

periments with artificial meadows and applied some of Jethro Tull's ideas of row planting and repeated cultivation, but there is little evidence that their example was widely followed by other country gentlemen.²⁷ On the other hand, there is ample evidence of noble entrepreneurship in clearing wastelands. Encouraged by tax exemption, many proprietors engaged actively in clearing the brush about Toulouse, the *lande* of the Médoc Peninsula, and the heath of Brittany. Unfortunately, clearings removed valuable pasture regarded as "commons" by the poor peasantry.²⁸ The clearing enterprise, consequently, became interwoven with the parallel noble offensive against communal rights.

By the end of the century noble landlords had largely abandoned the traditional method of marketing through small brokers (*blatiers*) who bought the harvest on the estate. Government surveys of stored grain at Toulouse in 1759 and 1781 indicate that most of the supply was in the hands of local proprietors waiting for the most favorable moment to sell in bulk.²⁹ In Brittany correspondence between Comte de Piré and his agents reveals careful attention to the grain market. In September 1788 the Count's agent in lower Brittany alluded to bread riots, but assured him that his "old grain" had sold well, even better than that of many seigneurs in the neighborhood. In December 1788, as the price of bread rose daily, the Count replied to his agent, "12 livres for wheat, 6 livres for rye, 3 livres for oats are good prices for December; let us keep our eyes open and sell if prices begin to fall."³⁰ Are these the words of either a salon dandy or a dull rustic?

At Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Rennes the rural nobleman was not living as a penurious and passive *rentier* from seigneurial dues and fixed money rents. He was a seller in an expanding agricultural market, and he was actively engaged in estate management, leaving few stones unturned in his efforts to make the domain farms yield a maximum return. All indications are that he was succeeding only too well.

Although this paper is primarily concerned with estate management and noble income from the land, the problem of noble expenditure must not be ignored. Here, perhaps more than in regard to revenue, the economic discipline of the class seems apparent. I should like to suggest two general areas

²⁷ Of 134 communities in the diocese of Toulouse only 6 were definitely using artificial meadows in 1786. AD Haute-Garonne, C-109; *Corps d'Observation de la Société d'Agriculture, du commerce et des arts de Bretagne 1757-58 et 1759-60* (2 vols., Rennes, 1760-62), I, 63-78, 119-26, II, 12, 45, 90-98. See Arthur Young, *Voyages en France, 1787, 1788, 1789* (3 vols., Paris, 1931), *passim*.

²⁸ AD Haute-Garonne, C-108, 109; AD Gironde, C-1332; AD Ille-et-Vilaine, C-1631-32.

²⁹ AD Haute-Garonne, C-116, 118.

³⁰ AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 2Er301; Henri Sée, "L'administration de deux seigneuries de Basse-Bretagne au XVIII^e siècle," *Annales de Bretagne*, XIX (1904), 307.

of attention: the family settlement and the more subjective area of spending habits.

No study of noble fortunes can ignore the problem of transmission of an estate from generation to generation. For no amount of tight domain administration could long defend the family estate against the constant erosion of an equalitarian inheritance law and a numerous progeny. To be sure, the eldest son was almost always favored in the division of the paternal property, but careful attention had still to be given to "provisions" or "portions" for the daughters and younger sons.

Although there were as many noble codes of inheritance as there were provinces, certain general observations can be made. Depending on the number of children, the eldest son received one-half to two-thirds of the assessed value of the paternal property. The remaining third or half was to be divided in equal portions among the daughters and younger sons.³¹ The crucial problem was the manner in which these portions were paid. To the extent that payments could be spaced over long periods of time, converted into life annuities, or reduced by family conclave, portions might be handled out of current revenue.

Younger sons and unmarried daughters were often placed in the army or Church with pensions representing considerably less than the interest on their legitimate portions. Nobles in more remote regions such as the interior of Brittany or upper Guienne who appealed to the royal administration for military service and royal pensions were almost invariably younger sons.³² An inspection of the genealogies of the nobility of Toulouse will show that very few younger sons married; most of them were either junior officers in royal regiments or canons and abbots in local religious orders.³³ "It is customary," wrote Abbé de Riquet, "for ecclesiastics to be drawn from cadets peu riches."³⁴

Daughters, it is true, present a special problem. Many remained spinsters or entered convents where they renounced their claims to a portion. But not all. The marriage of an eldest daughter was an important link in the continuity of a noble house. A *bonne alliance* was a mark of status worth a financial sacrifice. Here the importance of a well-managed fortune might collide with a traditional concern with family *éclat*. Madame Anne-Victoire de

³¹ See Marcel Marion, *Dictionnaire des institutions de la France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1923), s.v. "Aïnesse (Droit d')," "Legitime." For precise indications, one must consult the provincial *coutumes*, the eighteenth-century commentators, and law cases regarding *partages*.

³² AD Ille-et-Vilaine, C-2258; AD Gironde, C-2934.

³³ Jean Villain, *La France moderne généalogique: Haute-Garonne et Ariège* (4 vols., Montpellier, 1911).

³⁴ AD Haute-Garonne, 4-J (May 4, 1749).

Riquet de Cadillac expressed the quandary this way: "It often happens that a family announces many advantages for a marriageable daughter in order to attract rank, and when the time comes for concrete proposals, it would like to reduce them. But after the first propositions it is not honorable to bargain."³⁵

Nevertheless, although the burden of a daughter's wedding portion might be substantial (three to four years' income at Toulouse), careful management of payments considerably lessened the danger to the estate. Only a small part of the dowry would be paid immediately in silver; another portion would be paid at the death of the bride's parents, often without interest; still another part might be paid by transferring claims on individual debtors or on public institutions. A substantial part of any dowry consisted of long inventories of constituted and provincial *rentes*. It appears that the nobility always kept a certain portion of its fortune in such annuities for the purpose of paying dowries. Of course the dowry was not always a liability. The eldest son had a particular obligation to marry well and use his wife's dowry as an expendable reserve. The number of eldest sons both at Toulouse and Rennes who married heiresses was too great to be ascribed to Cupid alone.³⁶

This brief treatment of the family settlement can hardly do justice to a question that needs more study. There is little doubt that the family charges represent the greatest single burden on the noble estate. The larger the income of an old noble house, the greater the temptation to dower the daughters heavily in the interest of family name. In general, however, this temptation was resisted at Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Rennes where local intermarriage was the pattern. Above all, careful management of the family charges required the kind of family loyalty evidenced in a letter of a Mirabeau cadet to his elder brother, the famous physiocrat: "I have learned from childhood that you must have all [of the estate] except what is absolutely necessary for me to live on because you are the *chef de la race*, because you are in charge of everything, and it is my duty to contribute and not to appropriate."³⁷

Was the businesslike activity of the rural gentry simply a matter of technique? Was it fundamentally the reflection of serious temperament and disciplined habits? True, individual nobles might falter and demonstrate a certain carelessness toward livres, sous, and deniers, but family and friends usually intervened as a corrective to the dangerous spending habits of a wayward squire. Again, I suggest that sobriety, not profligacy, was the dominant note in the provincial noble family.

³⁵ *Ibid.* (Aug. 31, 1746).

³⁶ See Forster, *Nobility of Toulouse*, Chap. vi. Three successive generations of the families Rosnyvinen and Montluc at Rennes married heiresses in the eighteenth century. (AD Ille-et-Vilaine, Fonds de Rosnyvinen de Piré, Fonds de La Bourdonnaye de Montluc.)

³⁷ Louis de Lomenie, *Les Mirabeau* (5 vols., Paris, 1889), I, 178-79.

Consider a few of the hot-blooded young seigneurs of the Midi. When Sieur de Gillety was unable to escape his creditors at Toulouse, he retreated to the family estate with a convenient "nervous disorder." His mother used the respite to economize and pay off most of the pressing debts. The same sequence of events pertains to one Joseph de Meritens who had slipped off to the West Indies with his regiment. His mother paid his debts of 8,000 livres out of current income. An understanding royal official commented that Sieur de Vignes de Colomiers's obligations of 50,000 livres could be liquidated if Dame de Vignes, "an active and intelligent woman," were given a free hand with her husband's affairs. Through her intervention, the debt was quickly reduced without any sale of land.³⁸ The ladies were often more capable of handling family finances than occasional reckless sons or careless husbands. The correspondence of Marquise de Riquet to her husband visiting Paris is full of stern admonitions such as the following: "Our affairs do not permit us to hire such an expensive cook when I recall that we have six or seven thousand livres debt to pay from our revenue. We do not have money to throw out of the window."³⁹ Where sensible ladies were absent, a good friend might substitute. Marquis de Saint Félix expressed sage advice when he wrote to Marquis de Maniban:

Vous êtes allé grand train. You have started early in life doing things that temperamental men can never resist. You have carried them to excess. You have spent more nights than days in this world. This is the cause of your condition. Occupy yourself with important things—your family and your true friends who are never those of the banquet table and other pleasures.⁴⁰

Wills and codicils abound with expressions of pecuniary discipline. Marquis de Bertier attached the following memoir to his last will in 1750: "I wish that my heredity be rendered entirely free of debt, even of the portions and other charges when they can be validly paid before any placement, acquisition, or increase in my heredity be made."⁴¹ Comtesse de Visselou de Bienassis did not approve of lavish legacies to servants: "I have always found it contrary to sound morals [*bonnes mœurs*] and the public welfare to pension domestics who are able to serve elsewhere."⁴² Diaries and private correspondence, though extremely rare, are precious sources here. Even printed memoirs and legal documents should be more fully exploited to discern noble attitudes toward expenditure. Although such sources do not lend themselves

³⁸ AD Haute-Garonne, C-102, 104.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 4-J (Nov. 24, 1744).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 2-J (July 29, 1785).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 6-J, 44 (Feb. 17, 1750).

⁴² AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 2Er328 (Nov. 13, 1764).

to quantification, they are indispensable to an understanding of the economic mores of the *gentilhomme campagnard*.

Another danger to a balanced family budget was a trip to Paris, or worse, the temptation to live there. Marquis de Mirabeau had rightly termed the capital a "bottomless pit," and even so sober a man as Marquis de Bertier left 2,000 livres at its gaming tables during a visit in 1710.⁴³ In 1765 Marquis de La Bourdonnaye de Montluc, president of the parlement of Brittany, spent 2,032 livres in only one month at Paris *sans folie*.⁴⁴ It was far better to follow the example of Comte de Preux, who wrote to his sister at the brilliant city of the Seine:

Well ordered charity begins at home, dear sister. I should like to pay you a visit, but to live in Paris I would have to be your valet. We have 10 to 12,000 livres revenue. With that one cuts a poor figure if he is a count or a baron. However, if you visit me, we will be high and powerful seigneurs.⁴⁵

Prosperity is, of course, relative. A grand seigneur at Paris might well consider an income of ten thousand livres a laughable sum, but for a provincial nobleman it was quite enough to maintain the state of a gentleman. Such an income could support both a summer and winter residence, four to six servants, a light coach, a complete pantry, wardrobe, and linen closet, a respectable library, and an occasional trip to a watering spa or seaside resort. Arthur Young admitted that provincial living was cheap and attributed this to an inexpensive mode of living among the French gentry.⁴⁶ It would seem that by thrift, discipline, and shrewd management the provincial nobility of Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Rennes kept revenues and expenditures in balance. Curiously, these so-called "virtues" are more customarily associated with Duc de Saint-Simon's "vile bourgeoisie" than with the advocate Barbier's "impoverished rustics."

⁴³ AD Haute-Garonne, 6-J (*livre de raison*, 1709-23).

⁴⁴ Henri Sée, "Un type de document: Le livre de raison d'un parlementaire Breton au XVIII^e siècle," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, III (Apr. 1931), 236.

⁴⁵ Comte de Preux to Marquise d'Esclavelles, quoted in Henri Carré, *La noblesse de France et l'opinion publique au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1920), 109-10.

⁴⁶ Young, *Voyages*, I, 106.

Francis Parkman's Oration "Romance in America"

WILBUR R. JACOBS*

ON August 28, 1844,¹ the twenty-one-year-old Francis Parkman delivered a commencement oration on the occasion of his graduation from Harvard. The original manuscript, lodged among his papers in the Harvard College Library and unknown to present-day historians, is in Parkman's handwriting, signed "F. Parkman, August '44."

"Romance in America," as Parkman called the oration, reveals for us the springs from which his later work flowed, providing us with new insight into the romantic concept of history held by one of our greatest historians. Indeed, Parkman's later multivolumed masterpiece *France and England in North America* is, in many respects, a projection of the ideas that so fascinated Parkman in these early undergraduate days. Certainly Parkman's interests crystallized remarkably early in his career, so that the reading of his college days was of real value to him in his literary work. As he himself noted, in a letter written many years later, a literary career early suggested itself as combining his two boyhood loves: love of the forest and of books.²

What is known of Parkman's academic career supports his own contention that he was a lover of books. For his scholastic record at Harvard, which was excellent though not brilliant,³ masks the fact that the prescribed curriculum was only a minor part of his program of study.⁴ From his early reading lists and correspondence it is apparent that he carried on a secondary program of reading in literature, ethnology, and history, with particular emphasis on the romantic themes of François René de Chateaubriand, Jules Michelet, Sir Walter Scott, and James Fenimore Cooper, all of which readied him for his own literary work.⁵

* Mr. Jacobs, professor at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts, Anglo-French Rivalry along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748-1763* (Stanford, Calif., 1950), edited this unpublished essay of Parkman's. The essay is published through the courtesy of the Harvard College Library.

¹ The folder containing the MS gives the date of the oration. (Harvard Archives, HUC 6843.55.)

² Parkman to Pierre Margry, Dec. 6, 1878, *Letters of Francis Parkman*, ed. Wilbur R. Jacobs (2 vols., Norman, Okla., 1960), II, 124.

³ Term Books, Harvard Archives.

⁴ *Letters of Francis Parkman*, ed. Jacobs, I, xxxiv ff.

⁵ Parkman's letter of April 29 [1842] to Jared Sparks, written during his Sophomore year in college, indicates that he was busily engaged in reading on military campaigns at Lake George during the "Old French War." In his autobiographical letter of 1886 to Martin Brimmer, Parkman wrote: "Before the end of the sophomore year my various schemes had crystallized into a plan

But though his readings were valuable in preparing him for the oration and his later writings, a six months' grand tour of Europe, taken because of an apparent breakdown in his health, supplied him with the immediate framework for his oration, a comparison of nature in Europe and nature in America. In the early summer of 1844, after returning from Europe, before writing his oration and before his graduation from Harvard in August 1844 (a graduation which seems to have been delayed from the early summer because of his temporary absence from college), he gave evidence of his state of mind with these random jottings in his journal:

The traveller in Europe.
Art, nature history combine.
In America Art has done her best to destroy nature,
association nothing.⁶

The quiet beauty of the English countryside had impressed the youthful tourist; in Scotland he was captivated by the "heathery" hills closely associated with the life and writings of Scott. Here were art, legend, nature, and history. America, by contrast, had failed to appreciate the romance of its wilderness heritage, and it was this failure that Parkman hoped to rectify by writing a good—perhaps a great—book on a North American theme, a book that would be recognized as a product of the New World.

It was the sheer grandeur of nature in the wilderness that provided the most impelling motive for Parkman's literary activity. His feeling for this theme is exhibited by the comments of Vassall Morton, the hero of his novel. "Here in America," declares Vassall, "we ought to make the most of this feeling for nature; for we have very little else . . . savageness and solitude have a character of their own; and so has the polished landscape with associations of art, poetry, legend and history."⁷ The polished landscape of Europe held little enchantment for Parkman. Rather he turned to the mountains and the virgin forests for his New World symphony. Parkman's fascination with the history of the American forest, stimulated by Cooper's "Leatherstocking Tales," is described in one of his autobiographical letters. In recalling his youth, Parkman (writing in the third person) said: "his thoughts were always in the forests, whose features not unmingled with softer images, possessed his waking and sleeping dreams, filling him with vague cravings impossible to satisfy."⁸

of writing the story of what was known as the 'Old French War'. . . ." (*Ibid.*, 9, 184 n.) Additional evidence of Parkman's youthful interest in early French American history is in the Library Charge Lists, Harvard Archives, and in the notes accompanying Mason Wade's excellent edition of *The Journals of Francis Parkman* (2 vols., New York, 1947).

⁶ *Journals of Francis Parkman*, ed. Wade, I, 277.

⁷ Francis Parkman, *Vassall Morton, A Novel* (Boston, 1856), 112.

⁸ An autobiographical letter to George E. Ellis [1864], *Letters of Francis Parkman*, ed. Jacobs, I, 177.

Parkman's treatment of the Indians, unlike his treatment of nature, was far from romantic. He rejected completely the idea of the noble savage, depicting the Indian warrior as a barbarian of the Stone Age. Yet, in spite of this unromantic attitude, his enthusiasm for the Indian was a lifelong affair. Friends of Parkman's college days said that he exhibited symptoms of "Injuns' on the brain" and entertained them with wild tales of Indian scalps, birchbark canoes, and wampum, tales that surpassed anything in Cooper's stories, though they were clearly influenced by them.⁹ His *Oregon Trail* of 1849 was a personal narrative of his youthful expedition on the Great Plains and his life with the Sioux, as well as a record of preparation for the historical books that followed, especially the *Conspiracy of Pontiac*. Parkman eventually decided that the story of the French and English in North America would provide the same opportunities for an exciting theme and would be of more interest to civilized readers than his originally planned history of the North American Indians, with the Six Nations of the Iroquois as a focal point.¹⁰

Parkman's early fascination with Indian history blended with the interest he developed in studying the heroic figures of Canadian history. The age of the black-robed missionary, the adventurous *gentilhomme* of the forest, and the chivalrous Field Marshal Montcalm held peculiar attraction for him. Painted with splendor on the natural canvas of the primeval wilderness was the history of the soldier in plumed helmet, Indian warriors with barbarous trophies, and the great Jesuit martyrs.

Parkman imagined the past as a kind of theater. The forest was his stage, and historic figures like Robert de La Salle, the Comte de Frontenac, James Wolfe, and Montcalm were "actors" in his drama.¹¹ Take from his pages in the *History* the backdrop of the woods with its hum of insects, its smell of pine, and its roar of cataracts, and the image dims. Remove the fighting, sweating, and shouting actors, and the interest vanishes, for Parkman did not see his works as a dry chronicle of events, but as drama dependent on people and places. Parkman aspired to create a romantic but authentic image of another age with characters that had the passions of living men and women. His self-assumed task, a half century of gathering manuscripts, touring historic sites, and writing, was the culmination of a college dream to capture the romance of America's past and make it come to life for others.

That Parkman as a graduating college senior had learned his art is evident

⁹ Charles Haight Farnham, *A Life of Francis Parkman* (Boston, 1904), 78, in Frontenac ed. of *Francis Parkman's Works* (16 vols., Boston, 1899-1907).

¹⁰ Parkman to Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain, Oct. 23, 1887, *Letters of Francis Parkman*, ed. Jacobs, II, 213.

¹¹ In his correspondence published in the *Letters of Francis Parkman*, Parkman uses the word "actors" in referring to the chief characters of his narrative. The word "drama," or the phrase "dramatic interest," also appears in the letters in which he discusses plans for the organization of his works.

from his oration. His prose is made vivid by its appeal to the senses of sight, hearing, and smell. At Lake George a "gentle girl . . . gazes . . . down the Lake"; the sound of a "gun reverberates down the long vista of mountains, and the sullen murmurings dwell for many moments on the ear"; and a raven appears which "once gorged on the dead." The language of the oration reflects also Parkman's youthful affection for poetry, particularly his admiration for the Byronic hero and the forest hymns of William Cullen Bryant. The excellent vocabulary, the graceful sentences merging into smoothly molded paragraphs and transitions, the skillful characterization of the slatternly log hut pioneer occupied with reading newspapers or cultivating potatoes suggest literary sophistication. But perhaps Parkman is most eloquent when his emotions are aroused, as in praising the unspoiled woods, a subject that was always close to his heart.¹² Yet his style does not violate the beauty of simplicity; it lacks the pedantries and pompous language that punctuated much nineteenth-century prose.

That Parkman gave serious thought to the American Revolution as a historic theme is apparent in his college oration, but he turned away from his subject because it contained, as he wrote, "no display of chivalry or of headlong passion, but a deliberate effort in favor of an abstract principle." What romance was there in a war resulting from a meeting that calmly deliberated and then "voted resistance"?

For him the epochs of the Anglo-French struggle in North America were recalled, as he says in his oration, by the "wild scenery" of Lake George. This glistening jewel in the wilderness, with its rugged shore line escarpments, pine and hemlock forests, was the "holy lake" christened Lac St. Sacrement by Father Isaac Jogues before he was tormented by the Mohawks. It was the scene of Sir William Johnson's bloody victory over the French and of the massacre of captives following Montcalm's capture of Fort William Henry. Afterward it was the silent witness of the escapades of one of Parkman's favorite heroes, Major Robert Rogers, the colonial ranger.¹³ In many respects Lake George was a focus of history for Parkman, a kind of geographical center for his narrative of *France and England in North America*. Even forty years after his college oration Parkman included descriptions of this lake in his *Montcalm and Wolfe*.¹⁴

¹² "For my part, I would gladly destroy all his works [the *nouveau riche*] and restore Lake George to its native savagery—which shows plainly that you are a better American than I am." (Parkman to Casgrain, Oct. 5, 1892, *Letters of Francis Parkman*, ed. Jacobs, II, 265.)

¹³ One of Parkman's treasured possessions was an engraving of Rogers (reproduced in *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada* [Boston, 1906], Frontenac ed., I, 266), which he hung in his study at 50 Chestnut Street, Boston. The study was recently dismantled and reconstructed in a similar room at the headquarters of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston.

¹⁴ See, e.g., *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1907), Frontenac ed., II, 181.

Parkman's *History* was recognized in his lifetime as it is today as a gem of historical writing. His books have long been held as models for style and honest research by those historians who aspire to write readable narrative history that has appeal for both the general reader and the specialist. Parkman's college oration reveals in early form the romantic image of history that inspired his later and well-known volumes.

"Romance in America"

The tourist in Europe finds the scenes of Nature polished by the hand of art, and invested with a thousand associations by the fancies and the deeds of ages. The American traveller is less fortunate. Art has not been idle here for the last two centuries, but she has done her best to ruin, not to adorn, the face of Nature. She has torn down the forests, and blasted the mountains into fragments; dammed up the streams, and drained the lakes, and threatens to leave the whole continent bare and raw. Perhaps the time will come when she will plant gardens and rear palaces, but the tendency of her present efforts forbids us to be too sanguine.

When Columbus first saw land, America was the sublimest object in the world. Here was the domain of Nature. For ages her forest-trees had risen, flourished, and fallen. In the autumn, the vast continent glowed at once with red, and yellow, and green; and when winter came, the ice of her waters creaked and groaned to the solitude; and in the spring her savage streams burst their fetters, and swept down the refuse of the wilderness. It was half the world a theatre for the operations of Nature! But the charm is broken now. The stern and solemn poetry that breathed from her endless wilderness is gone; and the dulllest plainest prose has fixed its home in America.

Once Spain, Italy, England was also a wilderness. The haunts of Nature were *there* in like manner invaded, and her charm broken; but since that remote day, the deeds of many a generation of wise and gallant men have flung around that land the halo of romance and poetry. Its streams and mountains are hallowed by associations that ours have not, and may never have; and the hand of art has polished the rough features of Nature. The warfare of fierce and brave men, seen through the obscure veil of centuries, has given a charm to the Cheviot Hills that will never belong to ours, though our forests have seen struggles more savage and bloody.

The fanciful child, as he journeys through the passes of our northern mountains, looks with awe into the black depths of the woods, and listening to the plunge of the hidden torrent, he recalls the stories of his nursery of Indian wars and massacres. A fearful romance invests all around him, for he associates it with those scenes of horror. And surely the early days of no nation could afford truer elements of romance. They need but to be magnified by superstition and obscured by time. But we live in an enlightened age. History has recorded the minutest circumstance of our fathers' wars; and when we look at the actors, we find the same cool-blooded, reasoning, unyielding men who dwell among us this day—the very antipodes of the hero of romance.

The traveller may pause over the battle-fields of Saratoga or Bennington, and moralize, if he pleases, or give vent to his patriotic ardor. But they have none of the romantic charm, so hateful to the Peace-society. He will not feel the inspiration of Flodden or Otterburn. Here, on these American fields, was no display of

chivalry or of headlong passion, but a deliberate effort in favor of an abstract principle. Cool reason, not passion, or the love of war, sent the American to the battlefield. When Napoleon placed his brother on the throne of Spain, the Spanish peasant sprang to the gun and the dagger and leaped on the invader with the blind fury of a tiger. The men of New England heard that they were taxed, called a meeting, and voted resistance. Philanthropists may rejoice over the calm deliberation of such proceedings, but the poet has deep reason to lament.

The soldier of the Revolution has handed down to his grandchildren his own cool reasoning temper, so that the traveller finds even fewer elements of the picturesque in the character of the men, than in the aspect of the country. But, perhaps, being young and inexperienced, and having heard that wild men still linger in the recesses of the Scottish Highlands and the mountains of Wales, he imagines that the depths of the yet unwasted forest may contain some form of human nature more strange and wonderful to his American eye. So, with infinite toil, he penetrates to a narrow gap in the woods on the outskirts of civilization;—a small square space hewn out of the forest, and full of the black and smoking carcasses of the murdered trees, while the still living forest palisades the place around. Here dwells the pioneer, in his log-hut. The disappointed traveller finds him like other people, with no trace of primitive ignorance or romantic barbarism. He reads the newspapers; supports Polk and Dallas with fiery zeal; knows the latest improvements in agriculture, and keeps a watchful eye on all that is going on in the great world. Though quite confident in his power to match the whole earth in combat, he has no warlike ardor, preferring to watch his saw-mill and hoe his potatoes, since these seem to him the more rational and profitable occupations. In short, the enthusiast can make nothing of him, and abandoning the thought of finding anything romantic on his native continent, he sighs for Italy, where there are castles and convents, stupid priests, and lazy monks, and dresses of red and green; where people are stabbed with stiletos, instead of being slashed with bowie-knives, and all is picturesquely languid, and romantically useless.

Yet beauties enough be on the northern traveller's path; beauties scarce surpassed on earth, and one spot, at least, whose wild scenery has gained a deeper interest from the early history of his country. A lake which Romish priests, charmed by its matchless beauty, consecrated to the Prince of Peace when that country was an untrodden wilderness, yet which has seen a thousand death-struggles, and been dyed with the blood of legions. To the eye, Lake George seems the home of tranquillity and mild repose. The gentle girl sits on the green mound of the ruined fort, and gazes in quiet happiness down the Lake. All is calm and peaceful, yet lovely and wild, by the red light of evening; waters as deep and pure as the eyes of the gazer; mountains whose sternness is softened into a wild beauty. The evening gun reverberates down the long vista of mountains, and the sullen murmurings dwell for many moments on the ear.—There was a time when other sounds awoke those echoes,—the batteries of Montcalm; the yells of a savage multitude, and the screams of a butchered army. Blood has been poured out like water over that soil! By day and by night, in summer and in winter, hosts of men have struggled and died upon it. It is sown thick with bullets and human bones, the relics of many a battle and slaughter. The raven that plucks the farmer's corn once gorged on the dead of France, of England, and a score of forgotten savage tribes.

But the Holy Lake is alone. There are other scenes of grandeur and beauty, yet none where associations throng so thick and fast; and as they seem doomed to rest undistinguished in song, we must hope for them the colder honors of prose, and look forward [to] the day when the arts of peace shall have made them illustrious.

F. Parkman, August '44

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

ALTE UND NEUE WELT IN VERGLEICHENDER GESCHICHTSBETRACHTUNG. By *Dietrich Gerhard*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 10.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1962. Pp. 249. DM 23.)

THESE essays, written over a period of three decades, constitute an important contribution to comparative history. Professor Gerhard began his academic career in Berlin and continued it in this country at St. Louis. In recent years he has divided his energies between German and American universities. This diversity of background has enlarged his horizon and has opened his mind to questions and problems that might escape the specialist who concentrates on a more limited field. Gerhard's endeavor to find points of comparison between the Old and the New World comes to harvest in this collection. The work commands admiration for both breadth and depth of newly acquired perspectives.

The volume's three parts deal with aspects of European history, comparative history and overseas expansion, and problems of American history. Ranging from early Europe to contemporary America, and from the British Commonwealth to Russia, the essays are held together by a new methodological approach, that of comparative history with emphasis on institutions and historical structures, rather than on personalities or national developments. Gerhard has throughout investigated phases of Western history hitherto neglected or only partially evaluated, but I feel that those essays which are devoted to European history will stimulate the most active response. The study entitled "Regionalismus und ständisches Wesen als ein Grundthema europäischer Geschichte," first published in 1952, is a most provocative discussion of the institutional and social aspects of early European history, or *Alt Europa*, as the author terms it. It offers important corrections to the commonly accepted route leading from Renaissance and Reformation through the absolute state directly to the French Revolution. Another essay advocates a revision of the traditional division of European history along the lines of the Middle Ages and modern times and coincides with similar observations by Oscar Halecki. Still another traces the concept of the rising bourgeoisie as the agent of progress and liberty in the writings of Guizot and Thierry. Among the contributions to overseas history we find an attempt to apply the Turner thesis to the growth of Canada, Australia, and South Africa, as well as to the German *Drang nach Osten* and the Russian expansion into Asia.

Gerhard acknowledges his indebtedness to such masters of institutional history as Otto Hintze and Marc Bloch, but his own scale of values links him more

closely with Tocqueville. He shares Tocqueville's admiration for old Europe and the liberty that the *ancien régime* bestowed on the privileged groups in society. He also shares Tocqueville's intellectual resignation to equality and conformity as the prevailing trends of the Western world since the French and the Industrial Revolutions. It is quite in keeping with Gerhard's sympathies that he devotes a special study to Tocqueville's famous work on *Democracy in America* and its value for the present status of society in the United States.

The author is no iconoclast. Where he offers new vistas, they are presented as corrections and revisions of long-accepted clichés rather than as established truths. The book has a strong pedagogical undertone. It pleads for the acceptance of the comparative approach in the institutions of higher learning where it is all too often disregarded. Gerhard believes that comparative studies in institutional and social history are a necessary part of graduate work, especially for those who plan to devote their lives to the dual duty of teaching and research. The *Max-Planck-Institut* is to be congratulated on having among its members a teacher so well qualified to introduce young students to this new discipline.

Sweet Briar College

GERHARD MASUR

EUROPA UND ÜBERSEE: FESTSCHRIFT FÜR EGMONT ZECHLIN.

Edited by Otto Brunner and Dietrich Gerhard. (Hamburg: Verlag Hans Bredow-Institut. 1961. Pp. 267.)

THIS *Festschrift*, presented by students and colleagues of Egmont Zechlin in honor of his sixty-fifth birthday, appropriately reflects the wide academic interests of the Hamburg historian as well as the maritime and cultural milieu of the ancient Hanseatic city where he has lived and worked for so many years. The present volume, though small in size, is global in scope and outlook. It consists of eleven essays ranging from local and European to Asiatic and New World history.

The perceptive and provocative article, "On the Problem of Periodization in European History," by Dietrich Gerhard, who appropriately is one of the co-editors of this international *Festschrift*, originally appeared in this *Review* [LXI (July 1956), 900], and will, it is hoped, contribute further to a fruitful rethinking of European history by the craft. A richly documented and illustrated essay by Paul Johansen (Hamburg) traces the origin of the legend of the discovery of Livonia by Bremen merchants in the twelfth century, illuminating interesting and little-known cultural crosscurrents between Livonia, Bremen, and the University of Wittenberg, centering around the patriotic historical scholarship of the "praeceptor Germaniae," Philip Melancthon. Three essays deal with the origins of recent wars. In a painstaking re-examination of the published evidence, William L. Langer analyzes the background and motivations for the French decision, July 14-15, 1870, to declare war on Prussia. He comes to the conclusion that the famous Ems dispatch was not simply "the red rag that provoked the Gallic bull," but that it con-

stituted only one factor in a somewhat muddled situation in which the determination of Foreign Minister Gramont, the influence of Empress Eugénie and court circles, and the war fever in the chamber eventually prevailed. A long essay by one of Zechlin's brilliant students, Günter Moltmann (who as Fulbright scholar in the United States produced a significant monograph on America's policy toward Germany during World War II), examines Hitler's ultimate political aims. Moltmann feels that ideas of world rule definitely had a place in Hitler's scheme although for tactical and other reasons these could not be implemented during the twelve years of the *Thousand Year Reich*. The "Pearl Harbor Problem in Historical Research" is the subject of a brief chapter by Jürgen Rohwer who emphasizes the need for the historian of modern warfare to acquire new auxiliary tools, such as a thorough knowledge of intelligence and telecommunications techniques. A detailed analysis of available intelligence data, he feels, should help to place the Pearl Harbor "guilt question" in a proper and wider framework and lead to a more dispassionate appraisal of the policies of the FDR administration and its military leaders.

Not all the fine essays in this volume can be discussed in this brief space, but it is fitting to take note particularly of the article on Carl Schurz and Gottfried Kinkel by Eberhard Kessler (Marburg). On the basis of original letters of Schurz to Kinkel, which recently turned up in a Berlin antiquariat and now are located in the Bundesarchiv's section in Frankfurt, the author illuminates the relations and activities of these two famous heroes of the 1848-1849 revolution. Finally, mention must at least be made of Berthold Spuler's perceptive essay on the decline of Central Asia after 1500, Heinrich Heffter's reflections on the heritage of Prussia (largely reduced to vestigial traditions in cultural and administrative fields), Inge Wolff's article on the position of foreigners in the Spanish American colonies (as exemplified by the city of Potosí), and Günther Jantzen's appreciative but balanced biographical sketch of Adolf Woehrmann, one of the last great merchant princes in Wilhelmian Germany.

American University

CARL G. ANTHON

THE STRUCTURE OF SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTIONS. By *Thomas S. Kuhn*.
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. xv, 172. \$4.00.)

THIS closely reasoned monograph (prepared for and also issued as a fascicule of the *International Encyclopedia of Science*) will undoubtedly remind historians of Crane Brinton's *Anatomy of Revolution*. Since the origins of this work lie, as Mr. Kuhn tells us in his preface and his friends will remember, in the years when he was a junior fellow at Harvard, the resemblance is undoubtedly the result of the remarkable impression that Brinton's book made on most young historians in the postwar years. The origin of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* explains why the questions there raised are similar to those asked by recent converts to the history of science who have been trained as scientists and by historians strongly

influenced by sociology; indeed Kuhn regards this book as a contribution to the sociology of knowledge.

The author will not mind, I feel sure, if I say that I detect the influence of George Sarton as well. Not that Sarton practiced this sort of analysis, but he was, like so many continental historians of science of his generation, strongly influenced by Auguste Comte and often stressed the Comtian view of the triform development of the sciences (from theological to metaphysic to positive) as well as their essentially cumulative nature. Kuhn here offers a replacement to Comte: a view of science as developing not in a smooth and gradual ascent, but in a series of discontinuous jumps, named scientific revolutions.

In Kuhn's view, scientists, at any given time and in any given subject, hold certain common concepts, viewpoints, or "systems"—what he calls "paradigms." As long as the "paradigm" covers the facts, both old and new, scientists can get on with their jobs, which consist of solving the puzzles of nature. But inevitably, from time to time, new facts that cannot be made to fit the "paradigm" appear. An uneasy period then ensues usually covering many years, when the "paradigm" is stretched, a search is made for more facts, and profound uneasiness exists among the leading scientists of the field. Eventually, and generally by the efforts of several workers, a new "paradigm" is conceived, which is gradually accepted until it, in turn, becomes outmoded and is replaced. The scientific revolution consists of the process whereby one "paradigm" replaces another. The author examines the problems, needs, and methods of science during this critical period in relation to a carefully chosen but strictly limited series of cases, described in varying degrees of detail. His favorite examples are the eighteenth-century revolution in chemistry associated with Lavoisier, the Copernican theory in astronomy, and the introduction by Young and Fresnel of the wave theory of light; he also touches on eighteenth-century electrical theory, Daltonian atomism, and the introduction of relativity. (I am not convinced that the announcement of the discovery of X rays in 1896 produced such a crisis as he describes, especially since all German physicists thought cathode rays were a form of radiation; more critical, it seems to me, were the proof by J. J. Thomson of the material nature of the electron and the discovery of radioactivity by Becquerel, both very shortly afterward.)

As a provocative discussion of the progress of science, this book can be warmly recommended. Many readers will respond wholeheartedly to a work that deals with problems raised by the history of science without presupposing much knowledge either of that history or of science itself. Historians who teach courses that embody brief discussions of the history of science at various periods should find this book useful and stimulating. Kuhn is very generous in crediting in footnotes secondary sources that have influenced or stimulated him; a separate bibliography would have been desirable instead. And Sarton would rightly have castigated him for neglecting to provide an index.

Indiana University

MARIE BOAS HALL

ISTORIIA DIPLOMATII [History of Diplomacy]. Volume I. By *V. P. Potemkin et al.* (2d rev. ed.; Moscow State Publishing House for Political Literature. 1959. Pp. 896.)

THIS imposing study first appeared during the war years 1941-1945. Since that time much has taken place in the course of Soviet history. The new edition not only takes into consideration the changes of the last two decades, but the new views that came to take pre-eminence since the death of Stalin. The Stalinist freeze and the "cult of the personality" are now relics of the past, and therefore former references to "the great teacher" are conveniently left out. Among them are passages in the original preface which had referred to "Comrade Stalin, the indefatigable teacher who taught the working class to analyze complex international problems" and who alerted the nation to the efforts of "warmongers to drag mankind into a second imperialistic war." A new editorial board is in charge of the present edition; some of the former eminent members, such as V. P. Potemkin, S. V. Bakhrushin, or E. V. Tarlé, are no longer living.

The revised edition is more extensive in scope. New chapters that deal with the diplomatic history of China, India, Japan, Korea, and the Middle East, and with Sino-European and Sino-Russian relations are included. There is a chapter on United States diplomacy from the end of the eighteenth century to the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine; another chapter, considerably expanded, deals with the revolutionary period 1830-1848. Even the terminology underwent some changes. Thus, instead of the former heading "Diplomacy of the Young American Republic," the present subtitle reads "Diplomacy of the American Bourgeois Republic (1775-1794)"; former references to the "Muscovite State" now read "The Russian State." Many chapters include interesting vignettes of eminent diplomats such as A. M. Gorchakov or Otto von Bismarck.

The volume begins with ancient times and ends with 1871. It starts with the Amarna correspondence between Syrian and Palestinian princes and the Egyptian Pharaohs, then discusses the treaty of 1278 B.C. between Rameses II and the Hittite King Hattuschi III. There are some sweeping assumptions very likely motivated by nationalistic sentiments, such as the claim that an "organic" link had been established between the peoples of the Middle East and the Russians by way of the ancient kingdom of Urartu or Ararat (present-day Soviet and Turkish Armenia). A goodly portion of the volume is devoted to Byzantine diplomacy and to Byzantine-Russian relations.

While some periods receive more than adequate treatment, others are slighted. The sorrowful experiences of the war years which awakened patriotic passions still linger among Soviet historians. Thus the period 1725-1762 is confined to hardly four pages, probably because it marks German ascendancy in Russian political life. It explains the allotting of far more space to the diplomacy of Ashurbanipal than to the reigns of Anne and Elizabeth.

The anti-imperialistic editors must have had a "field day" with such subjects

as the American annexation of Texas and the Mexican War. The Louisiana Purchase is ambiguously referred to as the "Procurement of Louisiana." There is a most promiscuous use of "sources": citations range from the *Congressional Record* to writings of S. F. Bemis, Karl Marx, William Z. Foster, and N. S. Khrushchev. Stalin's utterances are eliminated, while Khrushchev, a conspicuous foe of the "cult of the personality," is only occasionally quoted.

In short, the present volume is an impressive achievement. It contains much that is of interest to the student of history, especially the sections dealing with ancient times, Asia, and the Middle East. Unfortunately, some of the essential parts are marred by forced "evidence" or by indiscriminate charges of inherent bourgeois, capitalistic, and imperialistic nefariousness. The unaccustomed reader will also occasionally find the Soviet jargon tiresome and not always convincing.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

MARXISM: AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL STUDY. By 'George Lichtheim. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1961. Pp. xx, 412. \$2.50.)

THIS book is intellectual history, of a certain kind, at its very best. Marxism is treated both as a movement to be mapped historically and a theory to be examined critically. Following Marx himself in the desired "union of theory and practice," Lichtheim shows how the theory arose from the historical environment and, in turn, served as an analytical tool by which to understand and then to reshape society. Thus, thought is seen as having a direct historical function. Therefore, Lichtheim, unlike the general run of intellectual historians, must not merely describe the ideas under consideration, but must analyze and evaluate them; unlike the ordinary social or political historian, he must not only allude vaguely to various ideas supposedly animating events, but must demonstrate the interplay of idea and event concretely and persuasively.

In both these tasks, the author succeeds admirably. His grasp of the relevant literature is impressive (though one is surprised to see no mention of Carl Landauer, *European Socialism* [1959]). He is equally at home in critical analysis of the ideas of Hegel and Feuerbach as in description of the political evolution of the First International, in handling the technical economic questions that are present in Marxian polemics as in detailing the wars and revolutions of the early twentieth century. Tracing Marxism from its rise in the aftermath of the French Revolution through its synthesis of German idealism, French radicalism, and English economic theory to its own particular formulation of the logic of history, Lichtheim examines closely its "test by reality" in the events of 1848-1871. One result of 1848, as Lichtheim points out, was that Marx began to revise his hopes for revolutionary action, and turned, as exemplified by his inaugural address of 1864 to the First International, to a more gradual and, perhaps, more realistic appraisal of the social scene. Next, the author pursues Marxism as it changed into orthodox

Marxism, largely under the aegis of Engels, and then follows its course through the epigonic polemics of Kautsky and the German revisionists into the more radical turnings of such dialecticians as Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky, and Lenin. Lichtheim concludes that, by 1918, Marxism had become an ideology rather than an analytical theory. It had outlived the circumstances from which it sprang and to which it wished to return as a precision instrument for change.

I have not been able to do justice to Lichtheim's informed critique of the ideas and movements just described. Page after page contains illuminating comments and subtle insights (naturally, in so broad a work, one would want to argue specific points). Written with tremendous compression, the book is reduced, not to superficiality, but to essentials. It is a tour de force. Unique in the extent and sweep of purpose involved, this history, and critique, of Marxism is a synthesis of a vast array of materials previously lying about in professional pigeonholes. It is, concurrently, one of the best single volumes, if not the best, on its subject, and a model for anyone writing intellectual history.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

BRUCE MAZLISH

Ancient and Medieval

THE GREEK STONES SPEAK: THE STORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREEK LANDS. By *Paul MacKendrick*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1962. Pp. xviii, 470. \$7.50.)

MORE than an account of archaeological discoveries in Greek lands, this handsome volume is a vivid discussion of the Greek achievement from prehistoric times to the early Christian period, interspersed with exciting episodes of discovery and brief but illuminating delineation of personalities famous in the realm of excavations. The author has succeeded in giving a brilliant picture of the activity of the renowned centers of the Hellenic world, period by period, together with striking views of the workings of modern excavations. The book was greatly needed since Michaelis' *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries*, published in 1908, was made obsolete by the discoveries of the last sixty years.

In a work of this scope scholars will be apt to miss their particular favorite areas and discoveries, as I missed a discussion of the excavations at Eleusis and Kourouniotes' share in the exploration of Pylos, but they will agree that most of the important excavations and discoveries are included in the book. Perhaps they would point out that the names of foreign scholars are seldom given, while those of Americans, connected even with minor discoveries, are emphasized: for example, for Perachora, English; for Thermon, Greeks; for Samos, Germans; for Asine, Swedes; but Harriet Boyd Hawes for Gournia.

One of the book's chief merits, not the only one, indeed, is that its account is based on fact. We can find few slips that need correction. Schliemann, for example, discovered only five royal graves; the sixth was found by Stamatakis. Five

hundred vases were found in a Mycenaean house by Papadimitriou and Petsas and not in the House of the Wine Merchant. The tholos tomb at Dendra was cleared by Axel Persson; the impression left from its description is that it was excavated by its American discoverer. The basketfuls of prehistoric shards found on the Acropolis of Athens were not thrown away; they are still in the basement of the museum. "The voluptuous Aphrodite" (of Cyrene), now in Rome, is not "a copy of a bronze original by Polyclitus." The fine bronze statue of Apollo of the late archaic period from the hoard of Peiraeus is not mentioned. These, however, are small details in the immense number of facts on which the author has based his excellent story of Greek achievement.

Washington University

GEORGE E. MYLONAS

CRETAN CULTS AND FESTIVALS. By R. F. Willetts. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1962. Pp. xii, 362. \$8.75.)

THE PALACES OF CRETE. By James Walter Graham. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 269, 154 plates. \$7.50.)

THESE two books are philosophical opposites, the wet and the dry. Both are extensive, documented surveys of important parts of ancient Cretan life, but the problems are approached as differently as one might expect from the professional fields of the authors: the architect is simple, strict, and factual; the historian of religion is speculative and wandering. Both authors collect much information. Graham's is firsthand and accurate; Willetts' tends to be derivative and slightly old-fashioned.

Willetts' *Cretan Cults* is a companion to his *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete* (1955); like the earlier book it stresses the social and economic structure of ancient Crete, both Bronze Age and classical, and views religion as a series of manifestations determined by this structure. Religion is less tractable than social studies, however, for the literary documents are often biased, are propaganda, or are inscriptions for local regulations that describe forms of ceremonies without illuminating their history or significance. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence for classical cult, though full, remains inert as Willetts handles it, and the archaeological evidence for prehistoric cult is not treated quite professionally.

Willetts believes in an organic development of Cretan religion from European Upper Paleolithic to Roman times, the seeds of later imageries being brought to the island by Neolithic settlers. He begins his detailed study with inferences from French and Spanish cave painting, therefore, and never reconciles this stream with his equally pronounced belief that the most dramatic Cretan religious symbols (bull, snake) were imported from Mesopotamia at an early period. His analysis of primitive cult depends on the Frazer-Harrison school; he argues against authorities like Nilsson on the grounds of probability without marshaling his evidence persuasively. For example, a basic element in his view of Cretan cult is totemism, whose existence Nilsson denied, but he "proves" it most circuitously through the

abundance of animal and plant motifs in Greek mythology, the presence of vegetation and calendar cycles as deduced by Persson, and the underlying inspiration of initiation rites for such myths as dead Glaukos and the snake (Glaukos dies as a boy, is reborn as a man); en route, totemism dies as a thing to be proved and is reborn as a fact. There are many sensible comments in his review of social-religious development in Crete, but there are also declarations one would not trust, and one gets a sense of incompleteness or complex but unconvincing arguments.

Two positive weaknesses should not be glossed over. One is Willetts' refusal to use Linear B as evidence. He explains this in the preface by saying he is not convinced of the decipherment, and even if it is right the material is poor and hard to use. This is true, up to a point, but one senses that the book was in fact compiled some years ago, and that the Knossos Linear B texts on cults, calendars, and offerings would have made so much revision desirable that the author felt daunted. The other weakness is in deploying archaeological evidence. Bibliography stops in this field about 1956, and Willetts has thereby missed much relevant material for rustic shrines, scenes of worship, and connections with mainland and Eastern religious systems. He depends on Evans and Pendlebury. His boy-god with hair shorn for initiation is almost certainly a forgery; his comparison of the Knossos Throne Room with the sanctuary of Men Askaenos at Antioch (A.D. 200) scarcely seems cogent; his remark on "the decades of the twelfth century B.C. which preceded the Trojan War" needs further explanation. There is a host of misty statements, such as that the double ax is associated with female goddesses because women always hew timber in primitive societies (the Linear B and Homeric woodcutters must have formed a male union later) or that "the nature of Minoan-Mycenaean religion is such as to make us suppose that a Cretan cult of Helios can have very ancient associations." It is a pity that vagueness in documentation and reasoning should mar a potentially very informative and thorough book. The writing is involuted but articulate.

Graham's detailed survey of Cretan palaces and architecture in the Bronze Age is by contrast precise and trustworthy in every detail. The details are mostly the author's own measurements of building remains supporting descriptions of the forms and organization of rooms, stairs, baths, columns, courts, and façades. The prose indicates the practiced teacher: popular, informative, and pictorially clear, which is so difficult when reconstructing ruins. Graham never forgets the importance of physical setting for Minoan architecture; he constantly relates architectural design to ridges, terraced land, water, and views of hills, and documents elusive matters like the interplay of light and shadow through folding doors and pillared porticoes. The book is meant partly to be used on the sites by travelers, partly to serve as a complete, simple reference work for all major buildings, which has never been attempted before. The bibliography is entirely up to date and includes relatively inaccessible reports in the Greek journals.

The presentation moves from general comments on the history and function of palaces through closer surveys of individual buildings to details of decoration and

furniture. Ideas formulated earlier in articles are here brought together: the central court as the bull ring with wooden railings to protect spectators on bull level; the function and design of the bathroom and its "cousin" the lustral chamber; the nature of the piano nobile and state apartments; the changeable design of the Minoan hall with its pier and door partitions. Graham is master of the practical: we are told how the Minoans locked their doors, flushed their toilets, sat to their kitchen work, and slept more of the dark hours than modern man. Almost every physical datum one wishes can be found through the index. Interpretations are unobtrusive; thus no demand is made on the reader to agree, for example, that the treasury of Atreus is derived from the north façade of the central court at Phaistos. I have two mild complaints, which are really requests for a bigger book: a section on the architecture of Minoan tombs would have been very useful and have completed the survey; a stronger conspectus of the historical development of building design would have related Graham's descriptions more organically to the whole growth of Minoan art. As it is, the ruins are principally those of Late Minoan I-II; there is nearly nothing about the great Middle Minoan period or the curious features of the latest Bronze Age. This is not a history but a guide; history is contemplated sensibly but briefly at the start, and Graham confesses to a partiality for Palmer's theory of Greeks at Knossos from 1400 to 1200 after all other palaces had been destroyed. Whether the architecture helps confirm this belief is not discussed. Finally, one must praise the illustrations. They offer plans of everything, and photographs to illustrate important features; there are line-cuts for furniture and pots; all is clear and useful, like the book.

Boston University

EMILY VERMEULE

ÉDUCATION ET CULTURE DANS L'OCCIDENT BARBARE, VI^e-VIII^e SIÈCLES. By *Pierre Riché*. [Patristica Sorbonensia, Number 4.] (Paris: Éditions du Seuil. 1962. Pp. 571.)

HISTORIANS who have felt that the early Middle Ages have been inadequately treated in the work of such scholars as Lot, H. O. Taylor, and others will welcome this excellent study by Pierre Riché. This is because Riché, using a wealth of primary and secondary sources, has at last provided a synthesis that explains changes in culture that took place in Europe between the end of the Western Roman Empire and the Age of Charlemagne. He has done this, in the first place, by providing a careful survey of education, which explains how the classical system of instruction became medieval, a process slower and more complex than most historians have recognized. Secondly, he has illumined the culture of this period. In the past we have seen this age as one which possessed a few isolated learned beacons in a dark sea of decadence and barbarism, a Cassiodorus or a Gregory the Great in Italy, a Fortunatus or a Gregory of Tours in Gaul, an Isadore of Seville in Spain, a Boniface in Germany. Riché has filled in the shadows so that we see such figures as part of broader and wider groupings. He has also shown that during the dark

eighth century in Lombard Italy and Carolingian northern Gaul and Germany there were precursors of the later Carolingian renaissance.

His volume is divided into three sections. The first deals with the years A.D. 480–535 when elements of classical culture survived. The Germans established in the Roman world began to be affected by part of this culture, and the Christian Church began to develop distinctive patterns of thought in schools maintained for its secular clergy and its monks. The second section deals with the little-understood period from A.D. 535 to 650 when classical culture in Spain, Gaul, and Italy spread to the courts of the Visigoths, Franks, and Lombards and affected much of their upper class, while certain distinct types of Christian thought developed in schools still maintained for the secular clergy and monks. The final section deals with the new monastic culture of Ireland and Britain and its spread to Gaul, Germany, and Italy, where it began to replace that of the now dying secular, classical world. By the eighth century this essentially monastic culture, already medieval, had become the basis of Western civilization.

This approach in Riché's skilled hands provides us with a new view of Visigothic Spain as a center of learning in the seventh century. It shows us that the courts and upper classes of the Merovingian Age possessed considerable culture in this same period and even earlier. It provides proof that the Carolingian courts of Charles Martel and Pepin III were not centers of ignorance as has been heretofore supposed.

Some parts of Europe inevitably seem to be inadequately treated even in such a distinguished work. Riché slights Celtic monastic learning in its homeland, since he is too skeptical of the value of Ryan's work, and his sections on Anglo-Saxon culture during these years seem thin, though perceptive. What emerges as most unsatisfactory in these pages, however, is post-Theodoric Italy, particularly in the period just before Gregory the Great and during the seventh century, following his death. It needs to be said, though, that this is not Riché's fault. Little monographic material exists for non-Lombard Italy during these years. It and Byzantine North Africa are still scholarly *terrae incognitae*. If this book does nothing else, it points up the need for more research in sixth- and seventh-century Italian history. Such lacunae, however, are not serious ones, and it is a pleasure to salute the most scholarly and valuable book on the culture of the early Middle Ages that has yet appeared.

University of Texas

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

THE CHURCH IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND. By *John 'Godfrey*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 529. \$10.00.)

This extensive survey will not assist a Roman and Anglican rapprochement. Godfrey follows Hunt's work of a half century ago, bringing the facts up to date but increasing the insularity. To compare his work with relevant parts of Fliche and Martin's *Histoire de l'Église* is illuminating. For Godfrey, the teleology is

settlement of king and Church; Durham is "Europe's most majestic mausoleum"; the Battle of Edlington stands "for a true victory of right over wrong." Generous in treating English contributions to the Continent, he begrudges the flow the other way: Alfred's debt to the court of Charles II, Edward the Confessor's borrowings from Liège (Leofric, Giso, and Herbert, for example). Indeed, he scants the three decades before the Conquest, for which debt to the Continent is especially documented.

"The broad theme of this book has been the Conversion of the English Teutons." But "English Teutons" suggests individuals, and Godfrey likes events, not people. The best-known characters—Cuthbert, Bede, Alfred, Wulfstan—lose their humanity. Alcuin is even questionable fact. Because of extensive quotation Aelfric's is the clearest personality, but it is that of phrasemaker. Topics nearest religion receive least attention. Worship is passed over; liturgy is brushed aside; saints' cults are avoided. One misses an analysis of Scripture reading. Monachism is a major topic, but convents are not models for living. Education is machinery, despite a dutiful encomium on teachers. "On the whole, the early Church was not a promoter of schools, and seems to have regarded learning with some mistrust." The author interprets hagiography imperceptively, for example, his acceptance of the legend of Gregory and the slaves against his later quotation of Gregory's own words.

The book is, in fact, political history, with chapters on the arts which are archaeology, including the archaeology of literature. As such, it is clear and well arranged. It is freshest on the Scandinavian missions and the development of parishes. The Syrian backgrounds of architecture are well stated, and the treatment of imminent judgment is exceptionally judicious. But too many facts seem not to be rooted in proper evidence. Why include William of Malmesbury on Aldhelm, or Ailred's "invented or embroidered" (so Powicke, after Levison) story of Ninian at Tours? Fallacies appear too frequently in a book of facts. Some are recurrent but well refuted, as that the sixth-century Irish Church was Quartodeciman, that Gregory I actively discouraged scholarship, that Byrhtferth commented on Bede's mathematical (why mathematical?) works. Some are sheer misreadings, as when Bede's words led the author to say that Bede extracted Adamnan rather than his own *De locis sanctis*, or when Miss Duckett (*Anglo-Saxon Saints*) misled him into attributing the tenth-century Italian *O Roma nobilis* to Aldhelm.

University of California, Berkeley

CHARLES W. JONES

CAROLINGIAN PORTRAITS: A STUDY IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

By *Eleanor Shipley Duckett*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 311. \$5.95.)

ELEANOR Duckett belongs to a distinguished and intrepid band of professional classicists who have wandered into the dark thicket of the Middle Ages from their side of history. Miss Duckett began her explorations in the fifth century, passed

through the "Gateway to the Middle Ages" of the sixth century, and in this book has ventured deep into the Carolingian ninth century. Her gallery of portraits from this period comprises Louis the Pious, Einhard, Amalar of Metz, Walafrid Strabo, Lupus of Ferrières, and Hincmar of Reims, but we also catch sight of such figures as Charles the Bald, Pope Nicholas I, and the unhappy Gottschalk.

The method of *protraiture* is simple and direct. Fundamentally she presents to the reader the writings of each figure through quotation, paraphrase, and summary, interlaced with relevant historical narrative. Such an approach is not intended to contribute to the specialist in the early Middle Ages to whom these writings are available in the editions of the *Monumenta* and the *Patrologia*. Nor will the more general reader who is familiar with Kleinclausz on Einhard or Waddell on Walafrid or Laistner on the whole period find much that is startlingly new. Miss Duckett's collection is primarily a work of *haute vulgarisation* for amateurs of history, but even here there are dangers. This method, which Miss Duckett has more successfully applied to Alcuin, is less felicitous with figures of meaner stature. Even the enthusiast for the Middle Ages would probably admit that the intellectual interests of these men were comparatively jejune and their conflicts often sterile to be depicted in such detail. Such an approach, moreover, lacks focus on the essentials of the mid-ninth century. A significant number of these figures (including Hraban Maur, who is strangely neglected) were students of the monastic school of Fulda, which in turn may be taken to represent the hopes of the Carolingian program to establish an indigenous educational system and to produce a hardy culture. This second generation of the Carolingian "Renaissance" was frankly a failure, but its failure was part of a general collapse of civilization. This essential problem of a fatally ailing culture broods only in the background of Miss Duckett's sketches. To rehearse the complaints of the victims is not to probe the source of the plague.

Johns Hopkins University

JOHN W. BALDWIN

L'ÉCONOMIE RURALE ET LA VIE DES CAMPAGNES DANS L'OC-CIDENT MÉDIÉVAL (FRANCE, ANGLETERRE, EMPIRE, IX^e-XV^e SIÈCLES): ESSAI DE SYNTHÈSE ET PERSPECTIVES DE RECHERCHES. In two volumes. By *Georges Duby*. [Collection historique.] (Paris: Aubier. 1962. Pp. 366; 378-822.)

WITH the publication of these two volumes Georges Duby has made a distinguished contribution to medieval economic history, a contribution in the great tradition of Marc Bloch. As the title indicates, he has set himself the task of treating the development of rural economy during almost all of the Middle Ages and, what is even more ambitious, of doing it from a European perspective, assuming that events or trends in England, France, Germany, and northern Italy can best be understood as parts of a single coherent whole. To be sure, Scandinavia, Bohemia, and Poland are excluded with the explanation that the author lacks the languages

necessary for research, whereas most of Italy and Spain are eliminated because of their special historical backgrounds and Mediterranean character. Nonetheless the results are magnificent; the author examines innumerable controversial issues, summarizes the pertinent research of scores of scholars in recent years, and manages to tie all this together with new conclusions in one long, sustained narrative of some five hundred pages. And the work achieves greater status because many of the contributions are based on Duby's own research.

Duby has divided the history of medieval rural economy into three periods, choosing to pass over the obscurity of the sixth through the eighth century and to begin with the reign of Charlemagne when documentation first becomes abundant enough to permit firm conclusions. The major portion of the work is devoted to the High Middle Ages, the time of great expansion, followed by a final section on the decline of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Several main themes carry through each of these periods. One concerns the farming methods and equipment that conditioned the output of the soil. Extensive space is also given to whatever external factors bore upon the development of the countryside as, for example, the rise of towns and commerce in the High Middle Ages, and famine and warfare in the fourteenth century. Standing at the center of the book and viewed in all its forms and methods of operation is the seigneurie, that institution through which feudal and ecclesiastical nobility so profoundly influenced the evolution of medieval economy. Finally Duby has dealt with the men who created this system, the peasants and the nobles, their economic condition, and how they were affected by the changes of this long time span.

To decide which of Duby's many conclusions is most interesting or significant is almost impossible. Among the most effective passages are those demonstrating the ingenuity and flexibility of the nobility in adapting to the changes of the High Middle Ages and thereby strengthening their control of rural affairs. But perhaps the most appropriate question that can be asked of a comparative history of this kind is: to what degree were rural trends in different parts of medieval Western Europe interrelated? Whereas the history of rural institutions in all areas displays a certain general similarity, as, for example, the seigneurie in England and France, Duby is forced to conclude that on the whole medieval rural economy was highly compartmentalized. Wide variations in prices, wages, and revenues occurred frequently not only from one country to another but even between neighboring regions. Prosperity in the Low Countries in the fourteenth century went side by side with terrible suffering in parts of northern France, and, on the lands of one Flemish abbey that Duby himself studied, seigneurial exactions show an almost incredible divergence, one field owing one hundred times as much revenue as an adjacent one. Economic integration and stability were not features of medieval economy.

One of the high points of this study is an extensive bibliography and a collection of original sources which Duby has included in accordance with his modest hope that these volumes will serve better to suggest future research than to present any definitive conclusions. The bibliography, surveying the best of recent scholarship in French, English, German, and Italian, is arranged chronologically

and topically and will be indispensable to all interested in rural history. The documents, preceded by explanatory remarks, are likewise presented in chronological and topical order and include a wide variety of charters, maps, tables, graphs, and photographs. They alone make up 250 pages or almost one-third of the two volumes.

Western Michigan University

GEORGE T. BEECH

LE PEUPLEMENT RURAL EN BASSE AUVERGNE DURANT LE HAUT MOYEN ÂGE. By *Gabriel Fournier*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Clermont-Ferrand, Second Series, Number 12.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1962. Pp. 678, 12 plates. 35 fr.)

DURING his brief sojourn at Clermont-Ferrand after the fall of France and before he joined the underground, Marc Bloch encouraged Gabriel Fournier to undertake an investigation of the terriers of Auvergne in preparation for a study on seignorial administration. In tackling this problem Fournier began with the later medieval period, but soon discovered that he must know how rural Auvergne became inhabited in the early Middle Ages. Engrossed in this research he exhausted all the written and unwritten evidence, and from this work emerged the present book which is to be joined by another on the later Middle Ages. This monograph is one of the most important studies on rural history to appear in the last twenty-five years and stands beside those of Bloch, Boutrouche, Déléage, Dollinger, Duby, and Perrin.

After a fine introduction dealing with the scholarly literature, sources, geography of lower Auvergne, and distribution of population from the late imperial period to the eleventh century, Fournier concentrates on explaining how the Gallo-Roman *vici*, the bourgs, the domains and villages, the châteaux, and the rural churches became nuclei of population. He gives an excellent account of the evolution of each of these rural centers and consistently relates his findings to the essential questions of agrarian history in the early Middle Ages. He concludes that the population of lower Auvergne was concentrated around old Gallo-Roman sites which, little touched by the Germanic invasions, exerted a dominant influence on rural institutions into the seventh century. The *vici* were semiurban, unfortified villages that were the centers of parishes and of local economic and administrative activity. In the Carolingian period they disappeared and were absorbed in the rural agglomerations of the seignorial regime; the *vicus* became the villa usually located near a new fortification that afforded protection. These conclusions definitely support the position of Pirenne and Dopsch on the continuity of ancient institutions under the Merovingians and the famous thesis of Pirenne placing the end of the ancient world in the late Merovingian period.

Although the great domain predominated, especially during and after the Carolingian period, Fournier always finds peasant proprietors free from the seignorial regime whose villages were not under the control of a lord. With the Caro-

lingians these peasants increasingly put themselves and their land under the protection of lords and became rarer, but did not disappear. Whereas the typical agrarian village of Merovingian and Carolingian times was unfortified, from the middle of the tenth century on there arose at strategic locations near many of these villages the feudal château which, as a residence for the lord and his entourage, place of refuge, administrative center, and site of a market and a church, became a new center of population. A similar transformation was occurring with church sites. With the triumph of the great domain, lords established their own churches which superseded the ones of the old villages. Meanwhile monasteries, becoming fortified, attracted people who settled in adjacent bourgs. Around these churches and monasteries thus arose new villages, some of which later developed into towns.

These few conclusions, selected from the many that fill this book, indicate the fascinating results of Fournier's research, the magnitude of which is evident in the notes and appendixes as well as in the scores of maps, drawings, and photographs that illustrate the transformations occurring in the villages, domains, churches, monasteries, and châteaux of lower Auvergne between the fifth and eleventh century. This study will profoundly alter many of our ideas about agrarian life and institutions in early medieval Europe and ought to stimulate research in other regions, which will deepen our knowledge of the early medieval landscape and the men who inhabited it.

University of California, Berkeley

BRYCE LYON

A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES. *Kenneth M. Setton*, Editor in Chief. Volume II, THE LATER CRUSADES, 1189-1311. Edited by *Robert Lee Wolff* and *Harry W. Hazard*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1962. Pp. xxii, 859. \$15.00.)

THIS is the second in a set of what will be five volumes on the crusades. It has been a long wait since 1955 when the first came out. The review of that first volume [*AHR*, LXI (Jan. 1956), 375] describes the general plan of the entire work, to which the present volume adheres. Professor Setton's foreword appears to intimate that the problems of getting the contributions of many writers to mesh were considerable; probably some had to rewrite more than once. The result is again a collaborative work that has a certain unity. Again, too, it will please the teacher, for his students will not have to struggle through unreadable chapters. In this respect, the present volume excels its predecessor.

The twenty-two chapters cover the material in such a manner that five parts are discernible. Chapters I-III are devoted to such twelfth-century activities as Norman Sicily and the crusades. There are two chapters for what is often lumped as the Third Crusade: one chapter for the crusade involving Richard I and Philip II, and another for the abortive efforts of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI. Part Two, covered by Chapters IV-VII, takes one to the Eastern Empire: Byzantium and the crusades (1081-1204), the Fourth Crusade, the Latin Empire

of Constantinople (1204–1261), and the Frankish states in Greece (1204–1311). The third part, Chapters VIII–X, deals mainly with the Albigensian Crusade and with thirteenth-century political crusades. Chapter IX is devoted to the Children's Crusade, which, though one of the best, keeps odd company in this third part. The reason seems to be that Parts Two and Three concern crusading events that never touched the Moslems and also wasted resources; the Children's Crusade could thus be put here, and of course had to be put somewhere. With Part Four (Chapters XI–XIV) one returns to the Near East: the Fifth Crusade, the crusades of Frederick II, of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall (1239–1241), and of Louis IX. The editor says that the last eight chapters look at "all these events from the point of view of the easterners themselves and in connection with their own domestic history": four chapters for the Christians (those in the crusader states and on Cyprus) and four to the enemy (Turks, Aiyubids, Mongols, and Mamelukes).

The maps are in part revised and augmented. Locations are largely restricted to such as are named in the present text, which helps prevent cluttering. The gazetteer further prevents this: Aquino, for example, is not given on any map, but the gazetteer lists it as "Aquino (Italian): village 39 miles NW of Capua." And so, one looks up Capua on map one which in spite of all looks pretty busy. Or to take Simanagla, the gazetteer says, "Simanagla (Armenian): fortress near Amoudain." We look up Amoudain, and it says: ". . . fortress 2 miles south of Anazarba." This place we find on map seventeen, which is all but crowded. Professor Hazard's contribution is still, however, unequaled in any comparable work. Bibliographies for the various chapters are kept to essentials. More annotation of secondary works would have been desirable. Among recent works, choices had to be made; not chosen, regrettably, was Deno J. Geanakoplos' *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282*.

The editors have three more volumes to do. We hope they will not weary, for a long road lies ahead: Volume III (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), Volume IV (civilization and institutions), Volume V (influences and consequences, with genealogies and bibliography). Indeed, we wish them a long life.

University of Oregon

QUIRINUS BREEN

THE CRUSADE: HISTORIOGRAPHY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Aziz S. Atiya*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1962. Pp. 170. \$5.50.)

CRUSADE, COMMERCE AND CULTURE. By *Aziz S. Atiya*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1962. Pp. 280. \$6.00.)

THESE two books are so closely integrated that they can be appropriately reviewed as a single volume. Throughout each of them the author maintains a clear distinction between the "Crusade" and the "Crusades." The former is described as a movement "with roots deep in the Greco-Persian-Arabic past, and with consequences extending far beyond the fall of Acre in 1291." In contrast with

this, he defines the "Crusades" as "military ventures of a special character initiated by Urban II toward the end of 1095." The *Historiography and Bibliography* is designed to serve each of these definitions.

The author's most useful bibliographical contribution is in rounding up "outstanding publications, source material, and secondary literature" pertinent to the "Crusade" as a continuous movement. Especially valuable is his treatment of Arabic literature, which he rightly describes as "an area relatively unexplored." He devotes particular attention to the long-existing lacuna in the monumental collections, while also providing detailed analyses of the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, the *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, and others. He regards this effort as a "starting point" from which other scholars may continue much-needed analyses of other great collections, and of "all the national archives and publications of the many nations and nationalities which participated in the Crusade."

In his textual treatment of the *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, Atiya construes his task as that of sketching the relations between the East and the West which "go far back into antiquity beyond the confines of the medieval world"—in short, the history of the "Eastern Question" from antiquity to modern times. He regards the Western crusading movement as only "one of the many phases or attempts at a solution of the Eastern Question." It is not improbable, however, that there is an inherent danger in overstressing this concept of the "Crusade," for the question immediately arises: were Urban II, Bernard of Clairvaux, and other leaders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries conscious of an "Eastern Question" in the sense in which it exists in modern times, or in which it existed in antiquity?

Insistence upon the "Crusade" as merely one phase of the "Eastern Question" explains the author's organization of his subject matter under such headings as "The Greek and Roman Solution of the Eastern Question," "The Carolingian Solution," and "The Frankish Solution." While treating each of the Western "Crusades" in the conventional manner, his greater emphasis is upon the "Phases" during which each of the specific "Crusades" took place. Thus, he conceives of the first phase as extending to the death of Baldwin II in 1131; the second, as a period of "unstable equilibrium between the consolidated Frankish monarchy and a consolidating Muslim monarchy," culminating in the political unity of the Moslems under Saladin. The third phase, dominated by Saladin and his Aiyubid and Mameluke successors, includes the individual crusading efforts of the West throughout the thirteenth century until 1292, when "all remaining Christian outposts . . . surrendered, and the crown of Jerusalem was flung from Acre across the sea to the island of Cyprus."

The chapters on "The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages," "The Counter-Crusade," "The Romance of Medieval Commerce in the Levant," and "Arab Culture and the West" are outstanding, reflecting both a thorough mastery of the sources and the mature judgment of one who long ago distinguished himself as the author of *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*. Noteworthy in these chap-

ters is the author's emphasis upon the changing concepts of the "Crusade" in the new schools of thought, which interpret the movement as continuing until "in the course of the fifteenth century, it began to lose its real significance and ended in becoming a forlorn cause. . . ." Of more than passing interest to the Western scholar is the author's summary of the Moslem "Counter-Crusade," the revival of the slumbering spirit of al-Jihād in the long series of holy wars, including the "Egyptian Counter-Crusade," directed against Syria, Cyprus, and Rhodes, and the "Turkish Counter-Crusade," aimed "at the final annihilation of the Byzantine Empire and the capture of the city of Constantinople."

In his interpretation of the "Aftermath" and the results of the "Crusade" the author maintains a middle course, neither exaggerating nor minimizing the civilizing and cultural influences of the Arab world on the West. He recognizes the results "as not uniform at all times and in all fields." These chapters touching upon the results, like the earlier ones dealing with the actual crusading movement, are in no sense revolutionary or epoch-making. They are, however, penetrating and highly readable syntheses, providing what is probably the best available brief survey of the crusading movement, or the "Crusade" as a whole.

Bowdoin College

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

LA VITA COMUNE DEL CLERO NEI SECOLI XI E XII. ATTI DELLA SETTIMANA DI STUDIO: MENDOLA, SETTEMBRE 1959. Volume I, RELAZIONI E QUESTIONARIO; Volume II, COMUNICAZIONI E INDICI. [Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del s. Cuore, Third Series. Scienze storiche, Numbers 2, 3. Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, Volume III.] (Milan: Società Editrice Vita e Pensiero. 1962. Pp. xvi, 536; vi, 388. L. 8,500 the set.)

THESE volumes have broader interest than the title might suggest. Following an introduction to the theme of the common life of the clergy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by C. Violante, Volume I contains a brief "Note sur la vie commune des clercs dans les collections canoniques" by G. Le Bras. Most of the volume is devoted to the texts of fifteen papers, with scholarly apparatus and accompanying discussions. Written by established scholars, most treat broad themes, and some are suggestions for future research. Several papers are closely related to their authors' recent books: M. Veissière, "La collégiale Saint-Quiriace de Provins . . . (1019-1181)"; J. C. Dickinson, "I canonici regolari e la riforma ecclesiastica in Inghilterra nei secoli XI e XII"; P. Classen, "Gerhoh von Reichersberg und die Regularkanoniker in Bayern und Oesterreich." J. F. Lemarignier here announces his forthcoming book, "Le gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens (987-1108)." M. Maccarrone, "I Papi del secolo XII e la vita comune e regolare del clero," shows that there was continuity in papal policy from Urban II through Celestine III "concerning the program and the application of the reform of the Church through the common and regular life of the clergy."

"... through papal efforts there was created a canonical legislation in favor of the common and regular life of the clergy. . . . This papal legislation for canons regular [has] the merit of having enlarged and enriched the concept of *religioso*, hitherto limited to monks, developing and making precise through clauses and adaptations a new form of regular life that during the XII century will take the defense and name of the Rule of Saint Augustine. This could be called the papal Rule." The other papers in Volume I are: G. Duby, "Les chanoines réguliers et la vie économique des XI^e et XII^e siècles"; J. Hubert, "La vie commune des clercs et l'archéologie" [architecture, eighth to thirteenth century]; J. Leclercq, "La spiritualité des chanoines réguliers"; E. Delaruelle, "La vie commune des clercs et la spiritualité populaire au XII^e siècle"; G. Miccoli, "Pier Damiani e la vita comune del clero"; J. F. Rivera, "Cabildos regulares en la provincia eclesiastica de Toledo durante el siglo XII"; E. Cattaneo, "La vita comune dei chierici e la liturgia"; D. Misonne, "Chapitres séculiers dépendant d'abbayes bénédictines au Moyen Age dans l'ancien diocèse de Liège"; M. Giusti, "Notizie sulle canoniche lucchesi"; F. Petit, "L'ordre Prémontré de Saint-Norbert à Anselme de Havelberg." A concluding discourse by C. Deriene is incomplete. Pages 495-529 contain a "methodological 'questionnaire' for the study of the common life of the clergy in the middle ages," indicating many facets of the problem that need examination.

In Volume II are thirty-two brief communications (almost all with scholarly apparatus) treating specific aspects of the general theme. The majority deal with France and central and northern Italy, although one communication each is devoted to Poland, Hungary, Sweden, and England.

These volumes will prove most useful to students of religious history.

University of Nebraska

WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

THE LAWYERS OF THE LAST CAPETIANS. By *Franklin J. Pegues*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 256. \$6.00.)

IN discussing the growth of royal power under Philip the Fair, historians have tended to emphasize the role of the lawyers. Professor Pegues has had the excellent idea of studying the careers of a representative sample of these lawyers in order to reach an informed judgment about their influence. He comes to the very reasonable conclusion that most lawyers were executors rather than makers of policy; perhaps none of them ever had as much power as Marigny, who was not a lawyer. Nor were the lawyers as a group bent on revolutionizing their society by destroying Church and nobility for the profit of the monarchy. Many of them were of noble birth; most of them had great nobles as clients; some of them left royal service for careers in the Church. They were more interested in increasing their income than in sweeping political programs. Their two chief desires seem to have been to perpetuate their memories through pious foundations and their families through the acquisition of landed estates.

Pegues has not only given us a perceptive analysis of the role of the lawyers; he

has also brought many of these men to life. Nothing is harder than to find character and personality in the dry records of administrative offices, but his portraits of Gilles Aicelin, Philippe de Villepreux, and Raoul de Presles are impressive and convincing. And this success, in turn, aids his main thesis, for real men are not apt to have the unbelievable foresight, determination, and political skill that some writers have ascribed to the lawyers of the last Capetians.

There are two flaws in the book. It reveals in some places that it began as a life of Raoul de Presles, rather than as a study of the lawyers as a group. While the reconstruction of Presles's career is a beautiful piece of research, the same amount of effort put on other men would have made a better balanced book and would have given us a better perspective on Presles himself.

The other weakness is in the use of financial records, where the author does not have as sure a touch as in dealing with the registers of royal letters. For example, a salary of five hundred livres tournois was not "unusually large"; most *baillis* received as much. More important, some lawyers whom Pegues calls obscure were actually very prominent in financial matters, such as Pierre de Chalon, who was much involved in the collection of export dues. And, with due regard to difficult problems of orthography, it seems that Pegues' hero, Raoul de Presles, was at one time a tax collector, an activity that would have done more to gain him royal favor than his rather inconclusive testimony in the affair of the Templars.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

FLORENTINE POLITICS AND SOCIETY, 1343-1378. By *Gene A. Brucker*. [Princeton Studies in History, Number 12.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 431. \$10.00.)

RECENTLY the political history of medieval Florence has begun to intrigue scholars. Without the comfortable categories of a nineteenth-century liberal such as Villari or the neat notions of social stratification offered by the positivist Davidsohn or the reassuring commitments of a Salvemini to a rational world in which men pursued their "true" economic interests, historians have been forced to analyze the superabundance of archival material in hopes of glimpsing modes of social classification that would allow them to impose some semblance of order upon the baffling political scene.

No interval in Florentine history is more perplexing than the thirty-five years between the fall of the despotism of Brienne (1343) and the outbreak of the Ciompi Revolution (1378). So uncertain are we of the general economic character of the period, and so unsure are we about party alignments and political motives, that few researchers have been willing to venture an analysis of this tense milieu. Until the appearance of this book, the works of Rodolico and the essay of Scaramella represented the only attempts at synthesis. Now Brucker has traced the political narrative of this period and delineated certain of the problems faced by those called to office during these anxious years. His first two chapters offer a sensi-

tive appraisal of the social commitments and economic interests of the many patricians and newcomers elected to the signory. Except for the tendency to resort to unsubstantiated generalizations about economic trends and overzealous assertions concerning the movement of capital from business to land—a claim made by Rodolico years ago and subsequently demolished—the chapters permit *trecento* Florentines to speak intimately and directly to the reader. The balance of the book is organized chronologically, and while the treatment of communal politics through the Pisan War (1364) is hurried and casual, the narration of parvenu and patrician involvement in public life from 1366 to 1378 represents the most skillful blending of the myriad of materials yet to appear in any language. Principally concerned with upper-class factional strife, the author is most successful in describing the intrigues and maneuverings of those who exercised political power. Especially effective is his treatment of the contest between rival political factions in the 1370's over the formulation of communal foreign policy. The description of Florentine politics on the eve of the Ciompi Revolution and the chapter devoted to the Otto Santi War stand as a most impressive contribution to historical literature.

One can only hope to read, in a lifetime, a fraction of the thousands of volumes of documents housed in the Archivio di Stato; many of the author's comments on matters peripheral to his central concern are, therefore, gratuitous. When he considers the decline of the wool industry, the state of communal finance, general business conditions, the withdrawal of the magnates from the guilds, and the role of lower-class unrest in precipitating revolution, his tone becomes Olympian. When he assumes so great a burden, he is compelled to impose an inexorable order upon events and eradicate inconsistencies. The policies of the *Parte Guelfa* did, in fact, shift and waver; they were not always hostile to the newcomers, as evidence in *Tratte* 136 indicates. Materials from Volume 800 of the *Atti del Esecutore* reveal that by early 1378 secret denunciations of Ghibellinism were being launched against every great family in Florence. This suggests that the question of political orthodoxy cannot be disposed of simply through analysis of economic motives and social commitments. The problem requires a willingness to abandon the precepts of a rational psychology and the need to be suspicious of simplistic notions of causality. Nor can we accept the moral categories of the chroniclers and depict political figures as either "principled" or "opportunistic." These words, so important to the student of ethics, block the historian from sophisticated political analysis. They encourage the researcher to present a static interpretation of the behavior of men and cliques, and to offer a rigid view of public life. Explanations then become mechanical since the scholar does not allow himself to see the way in which political experience can alter ideological commitments and social prejudices. Finally, speeches recorded in the *Consulte et Pratiche* illustrate that many men who spoke before the signory were motivated by the need to appear virtuous even while pursuing their special interest. Civic humanism is rooted in this ambiguity.

Western Reserve University

MARVIN B. BECKER

Modern Europe

THE BETTER PART OF VALOR: MORE, ERASMUS, COLET, AND VIVES, ON HUMANISM, WAR, AND PEACE, 1496-1535. By *Robert P. Adams*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1962. Pp. xv, 363. \$7.00.)

THAT Erasmus was devoted to the cause of peace among Christian peoples, that he regarded war as not only unchristian but as the principal obstacle to social reform in accordance with his conception of the philosophy of Christ, and that his reform program was strongly influenced by his English friends are facts that have long been recognized. Professor Adams goes further to argue that there was a peculiarly English form of humanist propaganda for peace and the reform of society, which expressed "the genius of this island" and which was developed most vigorously during "the decade of optimism after 1509, when a golden age of peaceful reform seemed achievable in England." The events of the 1520's and 1530's demonstrated that the optimism was unwarranted, but disappointment verging on despair did not prevent the aging Erasmus and his younger disciple, Vives—More, too, as far as his official position permitted—from laboring to call the princes of Europe to their senses.

It is the special virtue of this study that it fully documents the course of the literary campaign against war and its attendant social evils and relates it at every step to contemporary political events. Adams makes the point that the humanists were realistic in their assessment of the folly of wars in which no one gained anything commensurate to the cost, if not in their hope that the princes could be weaned away from such madness by reasonable argument. His documentation also justifies his thesis that there was a coherent group of ideas running through the work of the four humanists who are his protagonists. It is less convincingly demonstrated that their program was essentially English and related in its hopes and despairs to the policies of Henry VIII and Wolsey. More may have been, as Adams suggests, thinking specifically of England when he wrote the *Utopia*, but Erasmus was certainly thinking of Christendom as a whole, especially in the last two decades of his life after he had left England for the last time, and, so too, it seems to me, was Vives, the Spanish-born subject of Charles V, despite his frequent visits to England after 1523. To lump Erasmus and Vives together with Colet and More as "English humanists" or as "the London Reformers" seems, at any rate, an unjustifiably insular viewpoint. To use Falstaff's words as the title of a book about these four is even less justifiable and in dubious taste. The implications of the title, given its original context, slant the book in a direction that does less than justice to the positive Christian and humanitarian content in the thought of Erasmus and his friends on the subject of war and peace. One final criticism: the author's style throughout the book is marred by an excessive use of parentheses—several on almost every page—a mannerism that in time becomes irritating. This is, neverthe-

less, a work of substantial value and one that no student of the period can afford to ignore.

University of Western Ontario

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

NAPOLÉON ET L'EUROPE. [By *Marcel Dunan et al.*] Foreword by *André Puttemans*. (Brussels: Éditions Brepols. [1961.] Pp. 179.)

IN 1960 the *Commission Internationale pour l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* focused its attention on the Napoleonic era; this volume is the result. Marcel Dunan, former president of the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, and lifelong student of Napoleonic problems, supervised the efforts of the contributing scholars and himself provided three of the ten essays. His introduction stresses the contradictory estimates of Napoleon and his period, which have appeared in the last 150 years, and the need to distinguish between history and legend.

It is never easy to keep a collective enterprise well balanced and representative. This one overstresses some areas and neglects others. Switzerland, for example, receives two essays, "Napoléon et la Suisse" by Gerald Pfulg, and "Le Visage de Napoléon I^{er} dans l'Opinion Suisse du Régime de Médiation" by L. E. Roulet. The first offers a useful summary of Franco-Swiss relations from 1798 to 1813. The second and much briefer essay analyzes the generally favorable impression of Napoleon entertained by the Swiss until his defeat and overthrow.

Italian affairs are competently discussed by Max Tacel in a substantial chapter, "La Place de l'Italie dans l'Économie Impériale de 1806 à 1814." Tacel reappraises and broadens the conclusions Eugène Tarlé reached a generation ago in *Le Blocus Continental et le Royaume d'Italie*.

Napoleon's treatment of the Netherlands and their reaction to his rule are summed up briefly and objectively by Dr. E. A. B. J. ten Brink. Dunan himself undertakes to summarize the drama of Napoleon and the Germans. He sees it as a drama of eight years' duration (1806-1813) with a prologue and epilogue, but a drama with consequences of which "l'importance dépasse fort le bref moment d'histoire qu'il embrasse."

Two brief contributions deal with more limited topics. "Napoléon et les Beaux-Arts" by Ferdinand Boyer emphasizes with reason the need for a thorough and comprehensive study of "les rapports de Napoléon et des Beaux-Arts." Pierre Fleuriot de Langle discusses the unresolved questions concerning Napoleon's final years in a short essay entitled "Les Évangélistes de Longwood."

In a dozen paragraphs on "Napoléon contre l'Europe," Léon E. Halkin revives Sorel's thesis that the French ascendancy defied the balance of power, and Dunan carries the thesis to its conclusion in a summing up ambitiously entitled "La Véritable Place de Napoléon dans l'Histoire de l'Europe." Despite Dunan's endeavors, the impression left by the symposium is that of a mélange, the constituents of which are neither well proportioned nor well integrated.

A "Bibliographie Napoléonienne Sélective" of 392 titles closes the volume. It

cites 170 works in French, 140 in German, and some 20 each in Dutch, Polish, and Swedish. By contrast, only 13 English and 4 Russian works are included. No studies from Italy or Spain, or from the Americas, find a place on the list.

Ithaca, New York

GEOFFREY BRUUN

DIE RUSSISCHE REVOLUTION VON 1905-1907 IM SPIEGEL DER DEUTSCHEN PRESSE. In five volumes. Edited by *Leo Stern*. [Archivalische Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, Volume II, Parts 3-7.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961. Pp. lxxxiv, 434; 436-953; 956-1493; 1496-2003; 2006-2521. DM 60 the set.)

THESE five volumes constitute one segment of an enormous publishing project progressing under the direction of the German Academy of Sciences of East Berlin and devoted to the history of the German labor movement. Parts 1 and 2 of Volume II of the series dealt with the Russian Revolution of 1905 and its impact on Germany; Parts 3-7 contain 943 newspaper articles, some in extract but many complete, illustrative of that subject.

The most remarkable feature of the books, the impressive amount of space given to the reprinting of material from the press of that period, is also their most valuable contribution, for, newsprint being what it is, original newspaper files have long been scarce. The sheer bulk of the enterprise provides, moreover, a revealing indication of the resources currently allocated in the countries of East Europe to historical research and publication.

The volumes are introduced by the principal editor's lengthy essay on "The Two Traditions of German Policy toward Poland and the Revolution of 1905-1907 in the Kingdom of Poland." The subject has by no means been exhausted, either in German or English historical literature, but Professor Stern's contribution is minimal. What little clarification the author brings to the tangled organizational and ideological lines of Polish socialism is largely nullified by the dogmatic Leninist mold into which his evidence is fitted. And his indignant tone, particularly in a little concluding editorial on the "klerikal-militaristische[r] Adenauer-staat," suggests as his chief purpose not scholarship but political guidance for the unschooled reader.

The compilation that occupies the remainder of the five volumes cannot, however, be so readily dismissed. In the absence of the complete archival material from which the selections were made, an assessment must rest on symptomatic clues and remain tentative. In this case the signs are ambivalent. The editorial craftsmanship involved gives every appearance of thoroughness and accuracy, a conclusion reinforced by the painstaking prefatory remarks of the assistant editors. Moreover, the scholarly apparatus, including the fullest cross references, index, and explanation of archival sources, is exemplary as an aid to scholarly users of the work. As to content, the selections provide a fair cross section both of the contemporary newspapers themselves and of press opinion.

On the other hand, a slant appears, in the relative number of selections and in the length of excerpts, favoring Leftist reactions to the Russian Revolution of 1905. A still more important cause of mistrust is the choice and phrasing of topics for research, a highly ideological set of categories employed here as a principle of organization along with strict chronology. Hence, although such a voluminous collection cannot but have value for scholarship, it should certainly be used with appropriate caution.

American University

LYMAN H. LEGTERS

GREAT BRITAIN AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR: A STUDY IN THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION. By *Harry Hanak*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 312. \$6.75.)

HANAK's subtitle best describes the careful work he has done in recapturing the story of the gradual realization in Great Britain that Austria-Hungary could not survive World War I. Beginning with an estimate of the roles played by Wickham Steed and R. W. Seton-Watson in the stimulation of opinion favorable to the creation of Czechoslovak and South Slav states, the author proceeds to describe the "Radical" friends the Dual Monarchy had in Henry Noel Brailsford and others and the eventual triumph of the anti-Habsburg publicists after March 1918. The Radicals earn his scorn for their misapprehension of the internal affairs of the Habsburg realm, but the manner in which he treats the organized Czech and Yugoslav *émigré* groups and politicians like A. J. Balfour and Lloyd George indicates that he is willing to puncture absurdities and pretensions wherever they existed. The book has its best moments in the analysis of events after January 1918, when Czernin and Emperor Charles became enmeshed in tricky peace maneuvers and the Russian Revolution destroyed British fears of Russian satellite states in Middle Europe and the Balkans.

Since there were five million Poles in Austria in 1914, does not the Polish question during World War I deserve some treatment in a volume of this nature? Did their privileged position in Galicia prevent the formation of a Polish independence movement in Great Britain? Had they no champions as tireless as Steed and Seton-Watson? Hanak declares that the whole Czech nation was Russophile in 1914. One wonders if that was true of the Catholic Agrarian party and of the great landowners of the Clam-Martinić and Sylva-Tarouca variety.

Such questions should not detract from the general excellence of the study. Well-written, sometimes hilarious in its treatment of earnest Anglo-Saxons at work in theatrical and social affairs for their Serb and Czech allies, it covers the field of British opinion meticulously.

Washington and Lee University

WILLIAM A. JENKS

SPAIN AND THE GREAT POWERS, 1936-1941. By *Dante A. Puzzo*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 296. \$7.50.)

THE core of this book deals with the roles of the Great Powers in the Spanish Civil War. More widely defined, it treats also the historic foreign interests of the European powers in Spain and Morocco, the generally pro-Western neutrality of the Spanish Republic (1931-1936), and the cautiously pro-Axis policies of the Franco government during the years 1939 to 1941. It is based primarily upon the published diplomatic papers of the major powers, together with the memoirs of leading ministers and ambassadors.

The author documents clearly the manner in which major Italian, German, and Portuguese aid was available to the insurgent generals from the beginning of the war in July 1936. He shows the division of opinion within the French cabinet and the decisive role played by England in the development of "non-intervention" policies which were in fact helpful to General Franco. The Soviet Union is shown intervening on behalf of the Republican government as of late October 1936. In the United States, Secretary of State Cordell Hull shared independently the actual sentiments of the British government, and President Roosevelt followed his lead as against the strong urgings of Ambassador Bowers to support the Republican government on grounds both of legitimacy and of general Western democratic interests.

Concerning nonintervention the author makes the mordant observation that those who protested "Italo-German violation of the non-intervention agreement were either victims of a terrible self-deception or parties to a huge hoax" because there were in fact no binding clauses in the accord. The writer's personal sympathy for the Republic leads him occasionally to make statements that could be misleading. Thus he writes that "Mexico, almost alone among the nations of Latin America, was openly pro-Republican during the Civil War." In fact most Latin American governments were anti-Republican, if not forthrightly pro-Franco. One editorial practice seemed to me also to lead to possible confusion. There are several footnote references headed "Muggeridge" and "Gibson" from which the reader would easily suppose that these were authors, whereas the works in question are two separate collections of the papers of Count Ciano, edited by the above-named men.

The picture of diplomatic, strategic, and economic interests emerging from Puzzo's study does not differ markedly from the picture available in previously published studies such as those of Norman Padelford, David Cattell, P. A. M. van der Esch, and Herbert Feis. The great value of the present work is to place between two covers a clear account of the roles played by each of the powers that intervened for any motive whatsoever in Spanish affairs between 1936 and 1941.

Knox College

GABRIEL JACKSON

THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF LANCASHIRE: A STUDY OF THE CHANGING PATTERNS OF ASPIRATIONS IN LANCASHIRE, 1480-1660. By *W. K. Jordan*. [Remains, Historical and Literary, Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, Volume XI, Third Series.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press for the Chetham Society. 1962. Pp. xii, 128. 35s.)

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN KENT, 1480-1660: A STUDY OF THE CHANGING PATTERNS OF SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS. By *W. K. Jordan*. [Archaeologia Cantiana, Volume LXXV.] (Ashford, Kent: Headley Brothers for the Kent Archaeological Society. 1961. Pp. x, 172. 20s.)

IN these two volumes Professor Jordan extends his studies of English philanthropy to a detailed analysis of benefactions in two counties that had not been separately reported in his previous publications (*Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660*, and three other volumes). Since these counties are units lifted out of the larger study, the sources of data and the method of analysis remain the same. Jordan's thesis is that private donors during this period forwarded their own social aspirations through their benefactions to such an extent as to significantly affect the social development of the country. He found the center of this movement to be in London, where new wealth and new leadership were concentrated. The impact of these forces is traced by a detailed study of a sampling of counties throughout the country.

The two counties here dealt with differed markedly in their economic, political, social, and religious characteristics. These differences were reflected in the patterns of benefactions. Kent, a wealthy, stable, substantially industrialized county intimately associated with London, gave a smaller proportion of its interest to religion and education than did Lancashire, a sparsely populated and reputedly poor county. By a sharp decline in giving to religious causes, Kent sooner reflected the rise of secular aspirations. Kent, a much richer county, and presumably having relatively less extreme poverty to deal with, directed a much higher proportion of its benefactions to the care and maintenance of the poor than did Lancashire. On the other hand, Lancashire devoted a higher proportion of its benefactions to education than any other of the counties the author studied. The shift in emphasis with the passage of time is particularly striking in Lancashire. During the period 1480-1560, religion received more than two-thirds, and education a little less than one-fourth, of all gifts. In the Elizabethan period (1561-1600) and the Civil War period (1641-1660), however, gifts to education approached two-thirds of the total, and religion declined to far less than one-fourth. Only in the early Stuart period (1601-1640) did benefactions for the poor in Lancashire approach the proportions so directed in Kent, and generally in the country. In both counties the influence of the social aspirations and charitable activities of London is manifest.

Jordan is enthusiastic over the munificence and purposefulness of the giving which he has studied. This leads him to use numerous superlatives which, together

with minute monetary and percentage calculations, sometimes make difficult reading out of a fascinating story.

Washington University

RALPH E. PUMPHREY

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF POSSESSIVE INDIVIDUALISM: HOBBS TO LOCKE. By *C. B. Macpherson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 310. \$6.75.)

THE underlying social assumptions of "possessive individualism" provide the key, Professor Macpherson thinks (Part I), to the understanding of the theories of Hobbes, the Levellers, Harrington, and Locke. Analysis of human nature in an established relationship, not in "abstraction from society," led Hobbes (Part II) to the realization of the general inclination of all men for more power over their fellows. "Unlimited competitive appetite," the freedom and the compulsions of "market society" had brought about civil war. To ensure peace and stability, a self-perpetuating sovereign was necessary. Hobbes failed to see that "the English possessing class" might find Locke's sovereign, answerable to the dominant interest, more agreeable.

The franchises and freedom demanded by the Levellers are discussed (Part III). This section of "possessive individualism" is the most persuasive, though its thesis runs counter to claims made by authorities as diverse as Firth and Brailsford. Lilburne and his followers did not advocate manhood suffrage; they consistently excluded from this political privilege servants or wage earners and those in receipt of alms or beggars. A substantial proportion of the population (classified in an appendix on social classes and franchise classes about 1648) regarded as having inalienable rights in matters religious and civil was not considered sufficiently free from subjection to others to qualify for the vote. Only those engaged in active enterprise and possessed of a modicum of property were to govern in any sense. Macpherson examines the exaggerations of both contemporaries and of later scholars and produces useful and convincing evidence about their unwarranted interpretations of seventeenth-century democracy.

Harrington (Part IV) thought in "what would now be called bourgeois concepts," though he lacked Hobbes's insight into the social transformations wrought by market society. His bourgeois were still gentry; he may thus be accounted a more realistic if a less penetrating portrayer of a transitional period.

Locke (Part V) must also be studied without modern liberal democratic prejudices. Individualism in an emerging capitalist society does not exclude, but on the contrary demands, the supremacy of the state over the citizen. The rule of the majority, that is, of course, the majority of those classes who are agreed that the maximization of the nation's wealth is the chief public good, affords ample protection for the propertied individual. The rational were free, but this freedom included scarcely half the population.

Liberty in the seventeenth century (Part VI) was freedom from dependence.

This accrued only to those who enjoyed the disposition of their persons and the management of their goods. Class was important in "market society." A leviathan state was essential to the security which made its operation possible. Locke's amendment of Hobbes's solution provided a constitutional formula.

Macpherson's Marxian presuppositions may discourage some readers from close study of his book. Yet the serious student of the Stuart period should not neglect this provocative and often penetrating analysis.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Howard M. Ehrmann*. GREAT BRITAIN SINCE 1688: A MODERN HISTORY. By *K. B. Smellie*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 462, xviii. \$7.50.)

SMELLIE's history of Great Britain since 1688 is written for the historian and the layman. It is the latest volume in *The University of Michigan History of the Modern World*, and as such it aims at the presentation of a single country's historical development within the framework of global relationships. It is more than just a survey text for undergraduate students or a specialized monograph. If the author has succeeded in giving a valuable history of Great Britain during the last 275 years to the scholar and the general reader, his achievement is owing to a number of factors.

The book is based on the author's own interpretations and uses, at the same time, the most recent publications on special phases of British history. Commonplaces have been avoided, and where it is impossible not to repeat well-known interpretations of the past, this is done with a great amount of skill and even humor. The presentation is topical. Large perspectives that link the decades are developed.

Although the political factors are not neglected wherever it is essential to sketch them as background, the author has placed more emphasis on the economic, social, and intellectual history of Great Britain than on its political history. Smellie conveys to the reader a realistic picture of British history as a whole and uses generalizations in order to accentuate a theme through the centuries. But he has not neglected to give statistics for each phase of British history, and he cites precise data when he deals with the growth of population, the changes in industrial developments, or the multiplying functions of government in the twentieth century.

Smellie plunges into the story of Britain with a factual and sober analysis of Britain's economic structure by 1688. He then describes England's foreign policy to George III and successfully blends two complex topics, the continental upheaval resulting from Prussia's disturbance of the balance of power in Central Europe and England's national concern with the defense of its maritime interests. These, he says, were not only a source of strength but also a weakness "because only by

indirection [could they] find direction out." Britain was the neighbor of every country with a shore, and yet "she could not use their front door. She had to use so many indentations which were so many back doors into the living room of Europe."

The American War of Independence is presented from the British viewpoint, and its analysis is linked to the revolutionary wars of the later eighteenth century. In the war against the American colonies, mercantilism, different interpretations of colonial ties with the homeland, and "the fine balance of power at a monarchical court" lost for England the only chance of "offering an empirical pattern of political tolerance to the world." A British empire, as distinguished from *Pax Britannica*, has therefore never been. The war against revolutionary France that followed was neither an antirevolutionary crusade nor a war for trade or empire, but rather a war for security.

The chapter on the industrial development of England during the eighteenth century sketches the impact of new inventions on new methods of production. Problems arose when man found that the old organic rhythm was broken. No longer could he live by the movement of the sun and the course of the seasons. His new order was mechanical, artificial, and under human control. A similar shock, Smellie speculates, will be felt by modern man when the climates of the world will be within the control of the appropriate government departments.

Within the space of a book review it is not possible to point out the excellent presentations of the history of British thought in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, chapters that reveal the author's familiarity with literature, philosophy, and political theory. Most interesting are the last three chapters on "The Price of Victory and the Cost of Welfare," "Politics and Government, 1939-1961," and "British Thought, 1870-1960." That the victories of peace require more brains than those of war may have been felt by our contemporaries, but Smellie explains in great detail why it is so. He cites as causes of Britain's weakness after 1945 the transformation of the Sterling area "club," the new attitude of the government toward unemployment, the staggering rise of central government expenditures among others. He bases his analysis on the most recent sources and presents it with a refreshing simplicity and clarity. The same applies to his examination of the welfare state since 1945, which should be required reading for anyone concerned with Anglo-American relations. The bibliography is brief, but contains the most pertinent and recent publications.

University of Hartford

ANN BECK

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND. By *Dorothy Marshall*. [A History of England, Volume VII.] (New York: David McKay Company. 1962. Pp. xvi, 537. \$7.50.)

SOME may be dismayed to learn from the preface to this book that research into eighteenth-century English politics is "still very incomplete." For what stands out

on a general appraisal of the volume is the top-heavy preponderance of such history now. Despite the claims of the editor of this series, there is very little here on intellectual or social history, literature, or religion (the Church, deism, and so forth, scarcely appear, while John Wesley gets a few pages in the context of the Industrial Revolution). Political history and economic history almost monopolize the contents, the former more so than the latter. What this reflects is of course not only the distinguished author's own interests but the weight of professional research in England in the Age of Namier. There are those whose weariness with Pelhams, Carterets, and Newcastles, with family connections and the intrigues of cabinets and kings, threatens a new revolution against the view of history as past politics. Be that as it may, the political story is dramatic and important, centering as it does on nothing less than the evolution of parliamentary and party government, and the large body of recent research which has slain so many old stereotypes does need to be summarized for the nonspecialist, as the author urges. Beyond question she has done this well.

This book contains (perhaps refreshingly) no illustrations and few maps (these mediocre); the 526 pages are practically solid text, devoted chiefly to the complex game of politics as played from 1715 to 1784, from Walpole's reign to the fall of North and the Pitt ministry of 1784. The exposition is careful and the interpretations up to date. We learn early, for example, that the famous assiento privilege acquired at the Peace of Utrecht, so enshrined in the textbooks, was really of little importance in itself; we learn late that the famous resolution of April 6, 1780 ("the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished"), did not represent a victory for parliamentary government and reform (nor was the "is increasing" true). In brief, this book will enable us to bring all our interpretations up to date if we have not kept up with the monographs of recent years on eighteenth-century British politics. This volume is part of a projected ten-volume series, published in England by Longmans. With Nelson now offering a similar set, added to the venerable *Oxford History of England* (the volume for this period having just been given a new edition), no one can have much excuse for ignorance of English history. (More necessary are national histories in English on a similar scale for other European countries.) This book contains a rather thin bibliography at the end plus occasional footnote references, making for an unsatisfactory treatment of bibliography in comparison with other series such as the *Oxford History* or the Harper "Rise of Modern Europe"; the citations, however, are well chosen. It should again be noted that the coverage is so heavily political that the title is a misnomer: England in the eighteenth century was surely bigger than George III and the politicians.

University of Maryland

ROLAND N. STROMBERG

THE TRIUMPHANT EMPIRE: THUNDER-CLOUDS GATHER IN THE WEST, 1763-1766. By *Lawrence Henry Gipson*. [The British Empire before

the American Revolution, Volume X.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1961. Pp. lxxv, 414, lii. \$8.50.)

LONG since free from uncertainties of style and of decision, and now in the decade in which he feels most at home, Gipson has written a tenth volume that is powerful, compelling, and masterly. It deals almost entirely with the North American colonies, and with the preliminaries to, the passage, and the repeal of the Stamp Act. Its emphasis is fiscal. With plenitude of documentary evidence, Gipson shows that whereas the colonies, largely through partial reimbursement by Parliament for their war costs, were by the mid-1760's fairly free from debt or onerous taxation, Great Britain's debt amounted to nearly £150,000,000, and taxes might take as much as a third of a well-to-do Englishman's income. Great Britain needed an extra £500,000 a year to meet expenses; Gipson tells how it tried to find additional revenue in England, through a tax on cider and perry, and how the reaction to that ill-conceived measure brought about demonstrations only a little less severe than those against the later Stamp Act in America. The rewriting of the Molasses Act of 1733 as the Sugar Act, the setting up of adequate law enforcement agencies in the colonies, the purchase of the Isle of Man to stop smuggling were measures to help bring in the needed revenue. This volume, then, is the fiscal Gipson, with much on the constitutional side.

In his introduction Gipson says that this was the volume he planned to write in 1924, but that he found that he knew too little about the British Empire to do it with understanding. He wrote nine volumes to attain that understanding.

He has concluded, as now all readers of his books know, that the Empire, hide-bound in many respects as it was, was still tolerant, wise, dedicated to liberty under the law, and determined to keep what it had. On the other hand, the two million colonists were mature, both politically and culturally, were well to do, and were free from threat of foreign encroachments. Gipson's fine introductory chapter summarizes this achievement of maturity.

It would seem, now that almost all of the facts are in, that any historian's judgment of the causes of the Revolution depends upon where he sits. Gipson sees the Revolution as inevitable, for a profound alteration in the Empire's constitution would have been needed to save it, and no British statesman possessed such foresight, nor, had he had it, could he have carried Parliament with him.

What is missing thus far in Gipson's volumes is some analysis of colonial fears. Had Americans accepted the Stamp Act, would the government in England, avid for resources, have moved on to other taxes? Would a kindly Empire, averse to trampling on liberties, have laid on the colonists all the taxes that Englishmen bore? Gipson thinks not, because the decisions that the ministry had to make were not merely fiscal, but involved the great considerations of foreign policy and of foreign trade.

As one who believes in the importance of personal reactions to great events and movements, I have long thought that Gipson has overlooked that somewhat

intangible aspect of the story. Colonials, in English eyes, were simply not the equals of Englishmen. Occasional originals, like Franklin, could be admitted to English society and even admired. But Franklin never belonged. In the arguments about the causes of the Revolution, some weight must be given to colonial reaction to British disdain.

Cape Porpoise, Maine

STANLEY PARGELLIS

THE PASSING OF THE WHIGS, 1832-1886. By *Donald Southgate*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 488. \$12.00.)

AFTER 1832 the Whigs ceased to be a political party in the growing sense of this term. They were rather an aristocratic connection, convinced of their capacity for national leadership but actually of declining importance in the country. Yet they were also a continuing influence in Parliament until 1886, when the author closes this careful study of Whigs and Whiggery on the ground that these terms had only historical meaning after the breakup of the Liberal party over Home Rule.

Who were the Whigs? Southgate not only takes the view that there was in truth a "sacred circle of the grand-motherhood," but demonstrates it in detail. A significant chapter deals with the Whigs and the landed interest. Appendixes give charts of ministers, relationships of parliamentary candidates to Whig peers, and genealogical tables; these should be of great value to all students of parliamentary politics. In the narrative chapters Lord John Russell plays a central part, although any admiration that the author may have developed for him is kept well in hand, and the place of honor of the frontispiece portrait is given to Lord Hartington as the last and perhaps the truest of the nineteenth-century Whig leaders.

What was Whiggery? This is a more difficult question and is not clearly answered, although the term is frequently used and much of the book is concerned with the matter. Members of the "sacred circle" believed themselves entitled to varying views on political issues, and even the hope of office did not always cause them to cloud over their differences in public. Southgate regards the later Whigs as a distinguishable political group more because they regarded themselves as a special breed than because they supported special legislation. His chapters on the formation and dissolution of governments under Whig leadership are based on much reading of private letters and papers and emphasize the personal side of public life more than organized political pressures or the growth of parties. He supposes that Lord Grey and his associates consciously appropriated the issue of reform in the way that earlier Whigs had appropriated the Glorious Revolution and hoped to use a reformed House of Commons to maintain their leadership in the way that earlier Whigs had used the Hanoverian succession. This cannot be proved and did not succeed in any case, but Whiggery was certainly involved in using, controlling, and deflecting popular movements to keep the Tories out of

office. There was some truth in Disraeli's jibe that a Liberal government meant Whig men and Radical measures.

Yet the Whigs were important people, and there was more to their principles than an eighteenth-century cloak covering personal ambitions. Their aristocratic and independent connection took a larger and more generous view of national policy than any other definable interest in Parliament. The later Whigs were indispensable to the peaceful constitutional changes fundamental to the success of Victorian England. In spite of their declining influence, their interrelationships and their intricate political maneuvers deserve the detailed analysis to which this volume is devoted.

Mills College

FRANCIS H. HERRICK

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH ECONOMY, 1914-1950. By *Sidney Pollard*. (London: Edward Arnold; distrib. by St Martin's Press, New York. 1962. Pp. ix, 422. \$7.50.)

It is not often that the author of a historical work says that he wrote it for pedagogical reasons. In his teaching of the recent economic history of Great Britain Professor Pollard found that his students did not respond to casual references to persons and events whose importance he took for granted. He also found his teaching difficult because of the lack of a general book that would provide the student with a clear view of twentieth-century British economic history. In effect, then, the students "unwittingly, and most likely, unwillingly" forced him to write the book.

This study of economic history begins with a chapter describing the condition of Great Britain just before the First World War and then proceeds to an account of economic development from 1914 to the armistice. Then follow three long chapters on economic and social change between the two world wars. The last two chapters deal with the Second World War and the "conversion to peace." Pollard handles his materials very judiciously and does not allow himself to be caught in indefensible interpretations. He expects his readers to understand the terms commonly used in studies of economic growth and provides an ample number of statistical tables to illustrate and elaborate the text. The author has given us a sound treatment of economic history in terms of industrial efficiency, rates of economic growth, the position of the pound sterling, the "terms of trade," the economic significance of the budget, and related categories. His work should for some time be a standard treatise for serious students of economic history and will also be helpful for those teachers who do not have access to sufficient material in the field. It will be appreciated by scholars who like precision in historical interpretation.

There are, however, certain qualities that may limit use of the book by otherwise interested persons. One is the excessive length of the various chapters, the average being fifty-six pages, with one running to eighty-two pages. Another follows

necessarily from the author's basic conception of economic history: namely, his desire to give a statistical basis for interpretations wherever possible. I have no quarrel with Pollard on this point. Correct graphs and statistical tables can provide kinds of knowledge that we cannot get from a qualitative or narrative treatment. Nevertheless, Pollard's method seems almost to dehumanize his materials. One almost forgets that if it were not for a multitude of persons living in poverty there could be no graph to show it, and statistical tables do not give any understanding of the human feelings involved in the phenomena under consideration. The book does not bring to life the people who received varying amounts of satisfaction from the economic system or who had ideas for its improvement. If there is any color or drama in the economic history of Great Britain in the twentieth century I did not sense it in Pollard's book.

The author has not included a bibliography, but has tried to make up for the deficiency by giving extensive footnotes from which the reader may get suggestions for further reading. American scholars and libraries may well use the footnotes for titles to enlarge their collections of special studies in the field of recent British economic history. It is unfortunate, however, that the footnotes do not give the names of the publishers. Pollard's book could also serve as the basis for undergraduate seminars or special studies in the field which it covers.

Whitman College

RONALD V. SIREs

LA PRÉ-RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE (1787-1788). By *Jean Egret*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1962. Pp. 400. 20 fr.)

EGRET, author of studies on several provincial governments on the eve of the French Revolution, now provides a national synthesis for the critical two years 1787-1788. In his thorough analysis of interaction of king, ministers, the first and second Assembly of Notables, and the parlements, he has presented significant information on the "revolt of the nobles" which led to the Revolution of 1789. Egret presents much new material on the ministry of Loménie de Brienne and on the provincial parlements, hitherto ignored. His bibliography is a valuable guide to documents and to recent monographs, but the text is largely based on primary sources.

The liberal reforms of Calonne, backed by Louis XVI, failed because of lack of confidence in the minister and of opposition by aristocracy to absolutist methods used. Loménie de Brienne, next minister, and Necker received only halfhearted support from Louis XVI. Brienne advocated reforms representative of liberal opinion in the first Assembly of Notables and the parlement of Paris, but too liberal for court nobility and provincial aristocracy. The religious, military, and tax reforms, which cut across class lines, struck at the traditional constitution of the old regime. Conservative elements at court and in the provincial assemblies and parlements, where nobles and upper bourgeoisie dominated, brought about the resignation of Brienne in August 1788. After this and the resignation of

Lamoignon a month later, the monarchy dropped reform and concentrated on the future Estates-General, while financial crisis increased. Egret considers the "revolt of the nobles" to have ended in the fall of 1788, and the Revolution to have begun then. Necker, deserted by the nobility, sought support from the Third Estate. Reformers like Condorcet and Thouret, disillusioned with monarchical attempts at reform, turned to the building of a national party. Ignoring conservative opposition in the second Assembly of Notables and in the parlement of Paris, which had now become defensive of judicial privileges, Necker conceded the doubling of the Third Estate. Recognizing conservative opposition to any concession of equal voice for the Third Estate in the future Estates-General, Necker's *Resultat du conseil* of December 27, 1788, remained silent on voting. The stage was being set for the deadlock between privileged orders and Third Estate in May-June 1789. This volume highlights the failure of monarchical reform, divisions among the aristocracy, and the development of liberals toward radicalism.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

THE LIFE OF JEAN JAURÈS. By *Harvey Goldberg*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1962. Pp. 590. \$12.00.)

THIS is a book essentially about values, and at times it seems less a life of Jean Jaurès than a *profession de foi*. Just as a quarter of a century ago Jules Guesde was to his biographer Compère-Morel the incarnation of socialism, so to Professor Harvey Goldberg—the new biographer of Jaurès—his subject is the incarnation of democratic socialism, humanitarianism, humanism, peace, and Western civilization. *The Life of Jean Jaurès* is, notwithstanding, as ample and detailed a treatment of its subject as only arduous and dedicated scholarship can make it.

The book's most valuable contribution is the understanding it affords of the strength and continuing vitality of the Jaurès *mystique*, above all of the way in which groups of widely divergent ideological orientation have each been able to claim Jaurès as their own. The key to Jaurès was his breadth and his eclecticism, as Goldberg quite properly insists; he was a most "unorthodox" socialist. In his words and actions over the years, numerous contradictory positions can thus be found, depending upon the particular circumstances and issues. Hence it has been possible for sectarians to create a Jaurès in their own image by selecting out of context that which serves best. In his dogged keeping of Jaurès always in context and in showing him as a complex thinker and activist in an enormously complex society Goldberg renders real service to the study of French labor and socialist movements.

The work is not without flaws. Never does one get the full-dimensional Jaurès, only the political. Perhaps there was not, as Goldberg seems to imply, much of a "private Jaurès," although the long introductory examination of formative influences on the boy and youth holds promise of a more rounded treatment. Secondly, there is the paradox that while the best, most illuminating passages are

those of Jaurès' own words, the book suffers seriously from overlong, too frequent quotations. It is easy to sympathize with the author here, for the temptation to give as much as possible of Jaurès' forceful language must have been overwhelming. Yet having succumbed to this temptation, Goldberg cannot let the material speak for itself, but instead engages in superogatory explanation.

Every biographer faces the problem of presenting the times in which his subject lived, and here Goldberg has been unable to achieve a sense of proportion. In a laudable desire to write a book that could and would be read by the layman, he at intervals digresses into general treatments of European history, of French history, or of the history of French socialism or French syndicalism. The result is that Jaurès tends to get lost from sight. This interpolated material, in addition, is presented at a more elementary level than the rest of the text. The book is the loser for, in spite of the author's attempt to reach a wide audience, only the specialist, at home with the intricacies of French labor and socialist history, is likely to be able to cut through the details to find the essential Jaurès that Goldberg means to portray.

In a very broad sense, the work is an example of a conflict central to the historian's craft, that between present-mindedness and historical-mindedness, a conflict perhaps never so acute as in the mid-twentieth century. Unavoidably, perhaps, in view of the nature of its subject, this biography of Jaurès leans toward present-mindedness, with the injection of overgenerous measures both of hindsight and of projection. In the last analysis, Jaurès the legend imposes himself upon Jaurès the fact. This study, in spite of its impeccable scholarly basis, leaves the reader with a transcendent Jaurès, not a historical Jaurès, the product and also one of the movers and shakers of a world that vanished in 1914.

But even if Goldberg's life of Jaurès does not give new insights or fresh interpretations, it brings a very rich documentation which can be of much value to researchers on related topics. To others, provided they have the equipment and necessary special interest to stick with the book, it can serve as a major case study of the terrifying challenges confronted by a dedicated humanist in the modern age of irrational absolutes.

Washington, D. C.

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

HISTOIRE DU SOCIALISME EN FRANCE (1871-1961). By *Daniel Ligou*. Preface by *Pierre Mendès-France*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1962. Pp. viii, 672. 28 fr.)

DANIEL Ligou, of the faculty of the University of Algiers, author of historical studies of southwestern France under the *ancien régime*, has sought to recount ninety years of the history of French socialism. It is a labor of love by a long-time party activist, now a member of the dissident *Parti Socialiste Unifié* (which is not only small but far from *unifié*).

The author has relied chiefly on secondary sources, except for some of his own

experiences in the party since 1938 and some interviews with Socialist leaders, notably Vincent Auriol and Daniel Mayer. No revelations have come from these interviews, but perhaps the help of Mayer, secretary of the clandestine party, is what gives the chapter on the resistance a breath of life hardly stirring elsewhere in the book. Otherwise the volume suffers from a lack of the freshness that might have come from contact with more of the primary sources of a rich, significant, and sometimes tragic history. It suffers also from a lack of shrewdness and the critical faculty that one must exercise in the history of a party that has had influence in city halls, in trade-unions, and in national political life for three-quarters of a century. The quotations from Jacques Fauvet and François Goguel and other shrewd observers are so many reminders of what the book lacks in depth and flavor of critical analysis of its own.

There are all too few good party histories. The socialist party of any free country offers a somewhat easier subject than most other parties because of its well-defined structure, its articulate leaders, its national and local press, its frequent conventions (at various levels), and its habit of carrying on internal fights in the public view. But the historian who is not spending a lifetime on the work must limit himself in period or in topic. Ligou has tried to cover everything: ideas and organization, electoral behavior, and parliamentary action. As a result his narrative is thin and often purely formal (for example, the succession of conventions and the formal action of masses of resolutions). He has almost no discussion of the many intriguing and tough problems in the history of French socialism from "Millerandism" to the "Third Force." Despite Ligou's sympathy for Marxism, moreover, he has not attempted to relate the history of French socialism to economic changes and changes in French social structure; despite his internationalism, he has not related French developments to the transformations of European socialism as a whole.

University of Oregon

VAL R. LORWIN

RÉVEIL NATIONAL ET CULTURE POPULAIRE EN SCANDINAVIE:
LA GENÈSE DE LA HØJSKOLE NORDIQUE (1844-1878). By *Erica Simon*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960. Pp. xxvii, 766. 25 fr.)

THIS doctoral dissertation from the Sorbonne provides Western readers with the most detailed and accurate historical account to be found anywhere, including the Nordic lands themselves, of the "national awakening and popular culture" that led to the founding of "folk high schools" for young adults in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in the nineteenth century. The term folk high school was first used in Denmark, and in this book Erica Simon presents the vital part played in its early history by Nikolai F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872), Danish poet and "Prophet of the North." Though Grundtvig had seen Norway leave its long union with Denmark, being forced to join a union with Sweden under Marshal Bernadotte (Carl Johan), he did not despair. He set about translating and publishing sagas

and chronicles on medieval Scandinavian history that might give readers a better understanding of how their society had evolved. His writings reached few readers, but his interest in Vikings at home and abroad led him to make three trips to England, the "island of the Vikings," in 1829-1831, and to have his first "visions" of "schools of the living word," where young adults might learn, without the routine of examinations, basic elements of state and regional history. In 1838 he gave his first talk on his new program to a collège de Borch audience in Copenhagen, and six years later the first such folk high school in Scandinavia was set up in the North Schleswig town of Rødding.

This history of the "réveil national" is based on a large collection of authoritative sources and on personal observations and interviews. It tells how Grundtvig reached his main conclusions and how, with the help of rural leaders like Christian Kold, he stimulated many humble peasants as well as academic scholars and talented authors in Denmark to follow his lead. In Norway some teachers who had watched from a distance the work of the Grundtvig pioneers in Denmark had founded a folk high school in 1864. Christian Grøndahl and Ole Vig had prepared the way in the decades preceding the Schleswig wars, and Christopher Bruun, who had been a volunteer in the war of 1864 and a visitor in Rome, returned to Norway by way of Denmark in 1865 to start a Norwegian folk high school at Romundgaard. The well-known Norwegian poet, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, became a leading figure in the movement after his visit with Grundtvig about 1867. Sweden was the last northern state to bring folk high schools into its educational system. The clergy and the universities, along with upper-class citizens and nobles, were its chief opponents. The first successful efforts to set up such schools in Sweden originated in the southern province of Skåne, which bordered on the *Öresund* and had maintained close contacts with Denmark. But most of the Swedes, especially in the north, had shown little interest in accepting the Grundtvig doctrines until their rural allodial holders (*odalbönder*) had in 1867 won full recognition in the Swedish parliament. The folk high schools, today an important part of the educational system in all of Scandinavia, were started and carried on by a low-income peasant class of negligible political power.

In her closing pages Dr. Simon mentions two distant areas where Danish pedagogues have organized schools on the Grundtvig model, namely India, where five schools are operating in the province of Mysore, and Ghana on the Guinea coast of Africa, where a school has been started at Taito. All were started after World War II. Aside from the well-documented background account of the folk high school in Scandinavia, this study provides historical perspective from the eighteenth century on of international factors, mainly political, cultural, and religious, that influenced all three Scandinavian lands. That the book deserves translation into English, even if in somewhat condensed form, would, I strongly suspect, seem clear to those of us who have had the privilege of reading it.

University of California, Los Angeles

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES OFFIZIERKORPS: ANCIENNITÄT UND BEFÖRDERUNG NACH LEISTUNG. [Schriftenreihe des militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamtes. Beiträge zur Militär- und Kriegsgeschichte, Number 4.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1962. Pp. 342. DM 75.)

THE history of the German officer corps, the authors of this study contend in their preface, has not yet been written. Historians have generally been concerned with the thinking or the activity of individual officers or groups of officers in a specific period and have used the term "officer corps" to denote the totality of officers at that time. The fact that the officer corps was a unique and self-perpetuating corporation, a living organism with identifiable behavioral characteristics, has not, generally speaking, aroused their interest. This has been true despite the fact that in the determination of the relationship of the military establishment to the state, the *Heeresverfassung* to the *Staatsverfassung*, the officer corps has played the key role, transmitting or blocking new ideas, promoting or retarding developments that progress in time might seem to require.

In the conviction that a history of the officer corps should be regarded as the central theme of modern German military history, the members of the *Militär-geschichtliche Forschungsamt* have sought, in this fourth volume in their continuing series of publications, to contribute to such a history by making a systematic analysis of the principles and procedures guiding the advancement of officers in rank during the three hundred years that stretched from the origins of the standing army to Hitler's seizure of power. This has involved them in a searching investigation, on the one hand, of the origins and development of the concept of advancement on the basis of seniority—which, as Gerhard Papke points out, is the characteristic *Ordnungsform* of an organization based upon comradeship and strict equality of members—and, on the other hand, of the idea of promotion in accordance with merit or achievement, which was an expression of the will of the executive. In German history, the relationship between these two forms of advancement reflected the relationship between the king and his officers. The demonstration of this and of the kind of factors that influenced it is one of the chief themes in this unusual and penetrating book.

The volume has five sections. The first, by Rainer Wohlfeil, discusses various forms of advancement employed in the modern period, with particular emphasis on the debate over seniority and merit that took place during the Scharnhorst reforms. The second and third sections, by Hans Black and Edgar Graf von Matuschka respectively, discuss legal and administrative aspects of the question and present statistical data to show what the normal pattern of advancement was in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and first half of the twentieth centuries. In the fourth, Papke seeks, in a brief and stimulating essay, to use the data assembled by his collaborators in order to provide a sociological definition of the officer corps and to delineate the scope of a future history of the corps, by fixing its beginning

and its end. A final documentary section by Wohlfeil supports the conclusions of the third section and includes some interesting material on the National Socialist period.

Stanford University

GORDON A. CRAIG

SOZIALDEMOKRATIE UND NATIONALSTAAT: DIE DEUTSCHE SOZIALDEMOKRATIE UND DIE NATIONALITÄTENFRAGEN IN DEUTSCHLAND VON KARL MARX BIS ZUM AUSBRUCH DES ERSTEN WELTKRIEGES. By *Hans-Ulrich Wehler*. [Marburger Ostforschungen, Number 18.] (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1962. Pp. 281. DM 27.)

WEHLER's study, originally a thesis directed by Theodor Schieder, is an important scholarly contribution that adds much to our knowledge of both the German Socialist party (SPD) and the problem of national minorities in the period of the Second Empire. It is equally good in its treatment of intellectual, party, and electoral history. The book begins with a searching examination of the attitude of Marx, Engels, and Lassalle on the "national question," in which the author points out the fundamental differences, in opinion but even more in attitude, between Marx and Lassalle. It is not the author's fault that neither's opinion had much traceable influence upon the subsequent "national policies" of the SPD; the effect is, however, to make the book a series of separate monographs rather than an integrated whole. Each of the individual monographs dealing with the attitude of the SPD toward the Alsatian, North Schleswig, and Polish questions are of very great value. They all include excellent background surveys of the problems involved (though the elaborate arguments that Germany had no valid "legal obligations" toward the Poles under the Vienna Treaty of 1815, and the Danes under the Prague Treaty of 1866, must be viewed as obiter dicta; Wehler does not question Germany's moral duty and political interest to treat its minorities well). The analysis is especially good in synthesizing party policy on the national level with party tactics on the local level. The author combines clear exposition with a magisterial command of printed and archival sources. The bibliography of printed works contains 1,187 titles in several languages, including Polish, while the author has made archival studies in Warsaw, Amsterdam, Bonn, and several other places. The section on the tangled relationship between the SPD and its now-forgotten unruly and financially dependent junior partner, the Prussian Polish Socialist party, fills a significant gap, though it unfortunately suffers from the unreadability too often characteristic of "definitive history."

A strength of the author's outlook is that it cannot easily be labeled. He is rightly impatient with the criticism of the German Right that the SPD lacked national feeling, but also of the opposite criticism of the many foreigners (standing mostly on the Left) that the SPD abandoned its international ideals and succumbed too easily to German nationalism. He praises the SPD for its courageous

opposition to the mistreatment of Alsatians, Danes, and Poles by callous Prussian bureaucrats; he criticizes it for lacking a deeper understanding of the fundamental nature of national conflicts. The SPD viewed "German state nationalism as an arbitrary superstition, as an avoidable and passing prejudice of which they believed themselves to be happily free," far freer than they were in fact, though Wehler fails to describe the growth of German national feeling in the SPD in detail, relying instead upon rather unspecific sociological generalization. The SPD believed somewhat naïvely that national problems would disappear once socialism had replaced the Prussian pattern of administration. The comrades viewed this prospect as being none too distant, and therefore did not trouble themselves about constructive nationality policies as Renner and Bauer were doing in the Habsburg monarchy. They never seriously contemplated the cession of North Schleswig to Denmark, apparently under the influence of the outright German nationalist views of both Marx and Lassalle; they ceased to favor a plebiscite in Alsace after 1890, which would have solved the minority problem of Alsace by returning the province to France; and they ceased to favor the restoration of an independent Poland around 1900, thereby helping to block the only sensible solution for the problems of Prussia's misgoverned Poles. Their attitude in the last two cases must be explained in terms of their gradual and largely unconscious adaptation to Wilhelmine society, which was part of the larger process of the evolution of the SPD from a doctrinaire sect to a mass party. Wehler's conscientious research into previously unexplored topics illuminates (not always explicitly) this central problem of the history of the SPD.

Brown University

KLAUS EPSTEIN

DIE RANKERENAISSANCE: MAX LENZ UND ERICH MARCKS. EIN BEITRAG ZUM HISTORISCH-POLITISCHEN DENKEN IN DEUTSCHLAND, 1880-1935. By *Hans-Heinz Krill*. Foreword by *Hans Herzfeld*. [Veröffentlichungen der Berliner Historischen Kommission, Number 3.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1962. Pp. xii, 271.)

THE so-called "Ranke Renaissance" was first described as a largely historiographical phenomenon by Heinrich von Srbik in the second volume of his *Geist und Geschichte* (1951). In that monumental work he traced the efforts of German historians since the late nineteenth century to pry themselves loose from the political *con ira et studio* style of their teachers Sybel and Treitschke and to find their way back to the universalist and objective approach of Ranke. The main reason for this "revisionism" was the political fact of the "satiated" new *Reich* after 1871, which allowed the new generation of historians a greater degree of detachment than their fighting teachers had been able to afford.

Hans-Heinz Krill now asks the important question as to whether this essentially political circumstance could by itself be instrumental in bringing about a spiritual return to Ranke, as it did in the case of Friedrich Meinecke. By raising

this question the author indicates the limits of the concept of the "Ranke Renaissance." Indeed, by choosing Max Lenz and Erich Marcks as his examples he tests this historical movement at its weakest point. Although he writes with great understanding and sympathy for these two lively, imaginative, artistic historians, he cannot help pointing out that their commitment was an overwhelmingly political one, that they wrote, as Jakob Burckhardt once put it, "history directed toward 1871" (*Geschichte auf 1871*). The Sybel-Treitschke tradition had after all not died out. Lenz and Marcks were Bismarckians first and foremost, and their vista of history moved from Bismarck pathetically back to Luther, forward to Hindenburg and, with Marcks, to Hitler (Lenz died in 1932). During the first war an added dose of misunderstood Darwin *cum* Nietzsche (*Will to Power*) made for a most uncontrolled, ferocious chauvinism on the part of the "new Rankians," with Lenz endorsing the "extinction" of foreign nationalities. The collapse of the Bismarckian structure in 1918 then broke the world of Lenz and Marcks; they turned into rabid reactionaries and revanchists. The return to the universalist, truly religious world of Ranke was not possible for them. How much more sovereign, independent, dignified was the course of another student of Treitschke's who was at the same time a "new Rankian": Friedrich Meinecke. His commitment was one to self, nation, and humanity, and he walked that arduous road from a traditionalist nationalism to a humanistic cosmopolitanism. To generations to come he will mean much; Lenz and Marcks will mean very little.

Besides demonstrating clearly the limits of the "Ranke Renaissance," Krill finally suggests a regrouping of the "new Rankians." While historians like Burckhardt, Meinecke, and Hintze carried on creatively the Rankean tradition, historians like Lenz and Marcks took over mainly the striving for objectivity, the concept of the primacy of foreign policy; otherwise they remained Treitschkeans.

This excellent monograph thus takes us far beyond Srbik's discussion of the "Ranke Renaissance." It is in effect not only an exercise in German historiography but also a chapter of what Meinecke called *Gelehrtenpolitik*.

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

A CATALOG OF FILES AND MICROFILMS OF THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ARCHIVES, 1920-1945. Volume I. Compiled and edited by 'George O. Kent. [Published as joint project of the United States Department of State and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.] (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution, Stanford University. 1962. Pp. xxi, 811.)

THIS is the first of three volumes that will list the files of the captured political archive of the German Foreign Ministry, and also list the films of these files. The first volume contains the files of the Foreign Minister, of the State Secretary, of Political Department II (Western and Southeastern Europe), and the secret files for the years 1920-1936. Volume II will list the remaining files for 1920-1936, and Volume III will list the files for 1936-1945.

The preface states that these volumes continue and complete the *Catalogue of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1867-1920* (1959). This does not appear to be completely true. In the catalogue for the earlier years, those portions of the embassy and legation files that had been filmed were listed. There is no indication that the catalogue for 1920-1945 will list the mission files, whether filmed or unfiled. This would be a serious, and for some subjects a fatal, omission. As the editors state, there are large gaps in the Foreign Ministry files for these years, resulting from deliberate or accidental destruction, or from the fact that some files were not evacuated to the centers where they were captured by the American and British armies. Copies of many of the important missing documents are in the mission files. In Series D, Volume VI, of *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, for instance, documents were printed from about 350 film serials; of these, about 50 were films of mission files. This crude measure, of course, gives no real estimate of the relative importance of the Foreign Ministry and the mission files. For some subjects, recourse to the mission files is unnecessary; for other subjects, the mission files are indispensable. Since the mission files are comparable in bulk to the files of the Foreign Ministry, a catalogue of all the mission files, filmed and unfiled, would be a colossal task. But a list of the filmed mission files, similar to that printed in the catalogue for the years 1867-1920, would have an importance far greater than the labor which the compilation would entail; indeed, without this list the value of the catalogue will be greatly impaired.

The purpose of the catalogue, according to the preface, is to help scholars "to find their way through the maze of some three million frames of microfilm." This purpose the catalogue admirably serves. Every student will have occasion to be grateful to Kent and his fellow workers, not only for the catalogue itself but for the appendixes and above all for the index, which gives clues to the meaning of many of the cryptic file titles. At the same time, as he studies the catalogue the scholar will appreciate the complexity of the maze through which he must wander in his search for an understanding of German foreign policy. One sometimes suspects that, in devising his filing system, the chief objective of the archivist in each department of the Foreign Ministry was to make himself indispensable, to devise a system so complex that even an archivist from another department of the ministry would be baffled if he tried to find a document.

One unintended result of the ingenuity of these archivists has been to slow the scholarly study of international relations between the wars. The complaint is frequently made that, nearly eighteen years after the end of the Second World War, we still have no histories of the origins of that war comparable to the magisterial studies of the First World War written, after a much shorter interval, by Fay and Schmitt in this country, and by scholars of comparable stature in other countries. This is true. We have many excellent studies of fragments of the story; there is no outstanding history of the origins of the Second World War. For such a history, fairly full knowledge of the contents of the archives of at least one major

European power is essential. That knowledge we do not have, and are unlikely to have, from present indication, for many years to come.

The team of American, British, and French scholars who worked their way for so many years through the maze of the German Foreign Ministry Archives did put on film, the "Whaddon special film," the documents essential for an understanding of the more obviously important aspects of the history of German foreign policy. If scholars were given access to that film, then the writing of a study of the origins of the Second World War would be possible. It seems incomprehensible that the Department of State which, in 1945, was so eager to make available the documentary record of German foreign policy from 1918 to 1945 should now insist that scholars wait for another decade, probably much longer, for access to the already assembled record. Certainly, scholars working in this field have every right to press for the release of the "Whaddon special film" for scholarly study.

University of California, Berkeley

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

ÖSTERREICHISCHE HISTORIOGRAPHIE. By *Alphons Lhotsky*. [Österreich Archiv.] (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1962. Pp. 235. DM 16.)

THIS very substantial expansion of a contribution to the *Historische Zeitschrift* (CLXXXIX [1959], 379-448) deserves to be at the elbow of investigators of the history of medieval Europe or of Austria, and the libraries of institutions in which European historical studies are seriously cultivated will wish to have a copy on their shelves. This reference tool is a labor of love and learning prepared by a master craftsman, who, with unpardonable modesty, omits reference to his own valuable and voluminous achievements in Austrian history in the otherwise excellent index.

Beginning with the twilight of so-called ancient history, the volume extends to works of significance that appeared in 1962. It is divided into twenty chapters with a quarter of the space on writings to 1500; an equal amount carries the record to about 1789, a trifle more than a quarter from that point to the mid-nineteenth century, and the remainder, to the years since 1848. In terms of personalities, the work ranges from obscure early Christian chroniclers to the magnificent synthesis of the Austrian past by Hugo Hantsch and the recently published and more catholic survey by Erich Zöllner, which, if abridged on the medieval centuries, should be translated into English.

Fresh and invigorating winds commenced to flow through Austrian historiography, yielding novel patterns in social and philosophical attitudes, just before and on the morrow of the revolutionary tumult of 1848 with the establishment of the *Akademie der Wissenschaften* and the *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, the reforming zeal of Count Leo Thun, Minister of Education, and the migration from "Germany" of historically trained scholars, imbued with the more disinterested pursuit of truth fostered by Leopold von Ranke. In par-

ticular, Theodor Sickel placed the Historical Institute of Vienna on firm foundations, and the enlightened Alfred von Arneth as director of the imperial archives permitted freer access to the rich source materials accumulated in the Habsburg capital.

Professor Lhotsky has not confined himself to books of history, but directs attention to biographies, biographical dictionaries, societies for the promotion of historical research, wherever in the Habsburg realm the German language was spoken, and to microscopic monographs and even to unprinted doctoral dissertations. His conception of the scope of history is comprehensive, broadening into the whole range of human experience and thought in harmony with historiographical trends as the nineteenth century moved along.

So far as I am familiar with the literature, appraisals are judicious, and the running commentary, though slight, is adequate to understand the environment in which the works, whether by professional scholars or by able amateurs, were produced. With minor exceptions, writings on Austria by foreign scholars, Germans apart, have been rigidly excluded, but important studies by Austrian writers on foreign history are commented upon, and, occasionally, gaps in the historiography of Austria are pointed out.

University of Rochester

ARTHUR J. MAY

METTERNICH'S DIPLOMACY AT ITS ZENITH, 1820-1823. By *Paul W. Schroeder*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 292. \$5.00.)

AFTER a brief survey of the diplomatic field during the years 1815-1820 (Chapter I), the author reviews Metternich's policies in the Italian crisis of 1820-1821 (Chapters II-V), in the Eastern Question, 1821-1822 (Chapter VI), and the Spanish imbroglio. Finally, there is an attempt to evaluate the achievements of the Austrian Chancellor. I am inclined to agree on the whole with the conclusions, however they may appear colored with less than sympathy. In order to understand and vindicate the apparent inconsistencies of Metternich's diplomacy, one should always consider it from the viewpoint of purely Austrian interests. The high-flown principles clothe purely opportunistic policies. Instead of blaming Metternich for his dogmatism, one could more validly berate him for a shortsighted policy operating on a day-to-day expediency. This is one obvious conclusion one may draw from Mr. Schroeder's work. Less convincing are his deductions concerning Metternich's conservatism. It seems hardly fair to pass a judgment based on the record of three years of a long life, however thoroughly studied.

The State Archives of Vienna have provided most of the author's evidence, and he should be highly praised for the talent displayed in mastering and organizing such vast and tedious documentation. His chapter on the Eastern Question, for instance, is a little masterpiece of clarity. The main grievance that may be expressed is the deliberate neglect of British and French archives. Contrary to what the author seems to believe, the printed excerpts from these fall far short of providing

a valid substitute. The great historical reports of Bois-le-Comte on the three congresses and La Ferronnays's correspondence have been ignored. Much useful insight into Metternich's maneuvers is to be gained from these. At least the last might have been used through the two articles published by Pierre Morane in the *Correspondant* (1912 and 1922). As a result, the French viewpoint has been sometimes slighted or misinterpreted. Schroeder does not seem aware, for example, of the change in attitude of the French delegation from Troppau to Laybach, owing to the arrival of Blacas. In his account, this person appears only in the background as the representative of Louis XVIII to the Neapolitan monarch. Thus again the weight of the Bourbon family ties as a factor of French policies is underestimated; the Family Compact, still alive in the minds of statesmen of the time, is not even mentioned. The same reasoning may account for some slight errors, as when the author writes that the French government sought to make the Duke of Angoulême regent for the captive king in Madrid. The exertions of Villèle and Chateaubriand to bring the Duke of San Carlos to head this Madrid regency offer sufficient proof to the contrary.

Despite these minor reservations, Schroeder should be given credit for having put the Austrian archives to better use than has ever been done before on this subject. His book remains the best comprehensive study of this essential period of Metternich's career.

Institut Catholique de Paris

G. DE BERTIER DE SAUVIGNY

NUNZIATURE DI NAPOLI. Volume I, 26 LUGLIO 1570-24 MAGGIO 1577.

Edited by *Pasquale Villani*. [Fonti per la storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1962. Pp. xiii, 440. L. 3,500.)

GLI STATI ITALIANI E LA PACE DEI PIRENEI: SAGGIO SULLA DIPLOMAZIA SEICENTESCA. By *Basilio Cialdea*. [Istituto di Studi Storico-Politici, Università di Roma, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, Number 8.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1961. Pp. 388. L. 2,000.)

THE importance of the records of the papal nuncios for the history of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has generally been recognized since the first of them began to appear in the *Nunziaturberichte aus Deutschland* in 1892. Many others have been published since, those from Fabio Chigi in Westphalia, for instance (1943-1946), and those from France in 1525-1527 (1906), from Switzerland (1906), and from Ireland (1932-1949). But not until the present series has anyone attempted so thoroughly and so methodically to collect all the available papers of the more important legations. Guided by the principles set down in Franco Gaeta's preface to the first volume (*Nunziature di Venezia* [1958]), the five or six competent young scholars entrusted with the project have searched diligently through public and private libraries from Naples to Simancas; they have succeeded not only in filling in many of the extensive lacunae in the

Vatican Archives, but also in digging up a number of other contemporary documents.

This volume is the sixth to appear so far, following the first two for Venice, the first for Turin, and the first two for Cologne. Needless to say, the kingdom of Naples was not, in 1572, the "*rerum italicarum cardo*" that Jerome Aleandro had found Venice to be in 1533. Nor, for that matter, was the conscientious but unimaginative bureaucrat Antonio Sauli, whose letters occupy most of this volume, a person of either the learning or the piety of the famous protagonist of the Diet of Worms. Yet because of the peculiar position of Naples as a feudal dependency of the Roman see, these documents are of considerable importance for the history of the post-Tridentine Church, as the editor has already pointed out in his *Origine e carattere della nunziatura di Napoli* (1958). For they show both popes and *curia* to have been, in the twilight of the Catholic Reformation, more anxious to avoid public scandal than to apply rigorously the Council's reform decrees, more concerned with promoting "a greater fear [of Church courts] among the laity and thus a greater reverence for the interests of ecclesiastics" than with administering justice, and far more intent upon maintaining and extending Church property and jurisdiction than in caring for the souls of the faithful. Villani has added extensive bibliographical and explanatory notes and a complete index; in determining which passages in the original were sufficiently irrelevant to be omitted, he has followed the standards of modern historical scholarship, rather than those of Counter Reformation apologetics apparently accepted by the editors of the other major *nunziatura* project now under way, the "*Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae*." It should be added that these letters make very good reading quite apart from their historical significance, both because of the nature of the affairs that crossed the nuncio's desk and because of the unconscious humor in some of the passages.

All but specialists, on the other hand, will probably find Cialdea's methodical chronicle of the comings and goings of Italian diplomats in the years after the Peace of Westphalia somewhat less entertaining. With the same scholarly competence characteristic of his earlier *La formazione dell'ordinamento marittimo nelle relazioni internazionali* (1959), the author has managed to uncover a vast quantity of new documents, hitherto unknown to writers on the Thirty Years' War and its aftermath, in the archives of Rome, Parma, Modena, Paris, Madrid, and so forth. He has also succeeded in placing the monographs of such scholars as Romolo and Guido Quazza on the political affairs of the various Italian states into the general context of European diplomatic relations. A diligent reader, moreover, will probably find answers in this volume to such questions as that left open by Georges Pagès (*La Guerre de Trente Ans* [1939])—how, that is, the political interests of the papacy led it to work actively for peace. He may even come to understand somewhat better why the Italian princes were incapable of unified action and how a squabble between the Farnesi and the Barberini could undermine the stability of the whole Continent. But Cialdea writes purely diplomatic history in a manner that has gone somewhat out of fashion since Pierre Renouvin and

Federico Chabod, even to the point of using place names like "Madrid" and "France" as the subject of most sentences and indulging in such old-time metaphors as *ballon d'essai* (in French) and "time bomb" (rather awkwardly, *bomba a scoppio ritardato*, in Italian). He tells exactly what each of the Italian ambassadors thought about each successive incident. But he makes no attempt to explain their actions or attitudes either by analyzing the internal conditions of the states they served or by giving anything like the brilliant character sketches of Contarini and Fabio Chigi in Fritz Dickmann's *Der Westfälische Frieden* (1959). He offers no general interpretation of the events he describes and provides no index for the use of those who might wish to formulate one of their own. Obviously the importance of documents depends on the questions historians ask of them. At the present stage of historical scholarship most readers will probably find the prosaic report of a plodding papal official on the disorders of a remote southern diocese more valuable than the confidential whispers of an emissary of the grand duke of Tuscany on just what the great Mazarin was going to do next.

University of Chicago

ERIC W. COCHRANE

THE CROSS AND THE FASCES: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM IN ITALY. By *Richard A. Webster*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 229. \$5.00.)

SINCE the end of the Second World War Italian historians of all political convictions have been studying the changing attitudes and policies of the Italian Catholic community toward the Italian unitary state. Jemolo, Spadolini, Candeloro, Scoppola, De Rosa, Fonzi, and others have done much fundamental work in clarifying many aspects of the early conflict and later slow rapprochement between the liberal, anticlerical state, formed despite papal hostility, and the Catholic conscience. Both conflict and rapprochement posed spiritual and political dilemmas for many Italians: those who would be equally loyal to Church and state and those who gave their sole allegiance to one or the other and who had difficulty in accepting any compromise.

A lucid, objective survey of the issues and problems involved in Church-state relations and their repercussions in the historical evolution of modern Italy is presented in Richard A. Webster's *The Cross and the Fasces*. The book is divided into two parts. The first, utilizing recent Italian scholarship, deals with the Catholic movement in Italy from 1870 to 1929. The second, based largely on primary sources, follows Catholic reaction to Fascist policies from 1929 to 1945. An epilogue on the emergence of Christian Democracy after 1945 completes the story. Two brief appendixes discuss Christian Democratic programs from 1899 to 1948 and the electoral statistics of Italian Catholic parties from 1919 to 1948. Copious notes and a bibliography listing the most important sources complete the book.

While Webster has provided a much-needed survey in English of this impor-

tant aspect of modern Italian history, his work, because of the immense scope of the subject matter and the brevity of its treatment (190 pages of text), remains superficial. It touches upon diverse aspects of Catholic activity—social, doctrinal, intellectual, political—without developing any one fully. But since it does cover all phases of Catholic life in Italy, it provides a useful introduction and a general background for further study. Those who want to understand the nuances, subtleties, and contradictions of the role played by Catholics and the Vatican in modern Italian history will have to go to the more detailed works of Italian historians.

Regis College

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

Translated and edited by *Andrew Rothstein*. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House. 1960. Pp. 765.)

THE KREMLIN SINCE STALIN. By *Wolfgang Leonhard*. Translated from the German by *Elizabeth Wiskemann* and *Marian Jackson*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. 403. \$7.75.)

LENIN IN DER RUSSISCHEN SOZIALDEMOKRATIE: DIE ARBEITER-BEWEGUNG IM ZARENREICH ALS ORGANISATIONSPROBLEM DER REVOLUTIONÄREN INTELLIGENZ, 1890-1903. By *Dietrich Geyer*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Number 3.] (Köln-Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1962. Pp. xxvi, 447. Cloth DM 48, paper DM 44.)

THE common denominator of these three volumes is their concern with the history of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Each, however, deals with a different aspect of this history and is addressed to a different audience.

Ostensibly the volume edited by Rothstein is addressed to the party faithful and gives the authorized account of the party's history. Actually, it seems to be addressed to foreign readers, particularly those of "uncommitted" nations. Surely, the startling omission of the purges of the 1930's would not have favorably impressed Soviet readers—recent party gatherings have often resurrected the purges—but it may well have been considered politic not to bring to the attention of potential sympathizers the most traumatic episode of Soviet history. The account of Khrushchev's celebrated anti-Stalin speech of 1956 is cursory and hedged with qualifications; instead the volume stresses economic growth and the party's constant opposition to "colonialism" as its basic themes. As history, the book is disappointing and useless, even by Soviet standards.

Measured against his earlier work, *Child of the Revolution*, Leonhard's book is also a bit of a disappointment. His earlier work was marked by intense personal involvement and frightening honesty. The present volume does not—indeed cannot—have the same qualities. As an account of the Soviet regime in the years 1953-1960, it is perhaps as well informed and thoughtful as any contemporary work, but it must be, by its very nature, frankly speculative. The volume is well

researched, and the author's rather pessimistic conclusions are supported by a goodly amount of evidence. Works of this nature, however, tend to get dated rapidly, and this volume will probably not be an exception.

On the other hand, Dietrich Geyer's book probably will prove to be of more lasting value. He has probed an area that has needed further clarification: the intellectual and organizational problems of the young Lenin. Lenin as a person does not emerge too clearly from Geyer's pages—a definitive biography of Lenin is still needed—but Lenin as a politician and an organizer does. This volume ends with Lenin's creation of the Bolshevik party in 1903 and hopefully will be followed by others. In some respects, it is more a history of Russian Social Democracy than of Lenin during the years 1890–1903, but this view is perhaps an asset as it places Lenin in proper perspective, contrasted to the Soviet work cited above which, unsurprisingly, overemphasizes the role of Lenin in this period and presents a distorted view of the Russian Social Democratic movement. Geyer's detailed documentation speaks well for his work although he has omitted from his bibliography the monographs that he apparently used in the preparation of his own work. On the balance, however, it is a useful and well-done evaluation of an important period in the development of the Bolshevik party.

Duke University

WARREN LERNER

CIVIL WAR IN RUSSIA. By *David Footman*. [Praeger Publications in Russian History and World Communism, Number 114.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. 328. \$7.50.)

PERHAPS it is the complexity of the Russian Civil War that has caused scholars to avoid this subject, for "the crusade of fourteen nations" is not one that can be easily wrapped up in a tidy package. Our author has dealt with the problem by selecting only a few of its many aspects. Some of his omissions and inclusions are surprising.

In fairness to Footman one must admit that in his introductory chapter he mentions briefly most of the minor actions: Von der Goltz's push into Latvia in 1919, the Poles in the borderlands, Yudenich's drives on Petrograd, and others. The topics that he discusses at some length include the rise of the Volunteer Army in the Don Cossack country, the Czechoslovak anabasis and the beginning of the anti-Soviet movement in the middle Volga, and the grim tragedy of Admiral Kolchak's regime. One chapter describes the genesis and development of the Red Army. The war in the north—Murmansk and Archangel—forms the subject of another, which fails to mention the American battalion that fought there at heavy cost. Finally, surprisingly enough, there is a detailed account of the movement led by Nestor Makhno, the Ukrainian anarchist.

The omissions are striking. Denikin's drive on Moscow in 1919 and the decisive counterblow of the Red forces receive only cursory mention, and the two at-

tempts of Yudenich to take Petrograd get much less. Footman says little about the Soviet-Polish war of 1920 and the Wrangel campaign, and one searches in vain for the struggle in Transcaucasia.

For the reader seeking a full treatment of the Russian Civil War this episodic presentation, arbitrary in its coverage, leaves something to be desired. Moreover, although at the end of each chapter Footman lists numerous Russian sources, both White and Red, he does not supply footnote citations. At times he goes into great detail, as when he follows the wanderings of the luckless Admiral Kolchak and the Russian gold reserve, but he never tells what finally happened to the gold. The book has its virtues, however, for it is reasonably objective, lively in style, and easy to follow. The author admires neither Whites nor Reds; if he has a hero, it is Nestor Makhno, the anarchist chieftain.

Duke University

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS

Near East

THE GENESIS OF YOUNG OTTOMAN THOUGHT: A STUDY IN THE MODERNIZATION OF TURKISH POLITICAL IDEAS. By *Şerif Mardin*. [Princeton Oriental Studies, Volume XXI.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 456. \$10.00.)

DR. Mardin, a Turkish political scientist trained in the United States, sets out to examine the political doctrines of the Young Ottomans of 1865-1876 against the background of earlier Islamic and Ottoman thought, of European (mostly French) influences, and of the contemporary political setting of bureaucratic-autocratic reform, of high- and low-level intrigue, and of nascent public opinion in Istanbul. His original sources are the voluminous output of the Young Ottomans in journals such as *Hürriyet*, *İbret*, *Muhbir*, and *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, and the reform memorials published in French by Mustafa Fazıl Pasha and Tunuslu Hayreddin Pasha in 1866 and 1868. In addition, a vast profusion of secondary (or, one suspects, tertiary and quaternary) sources, Turkish and foreign, is cited in the notes, and Mardin's argument does not always discriminate.

The Young Ottomans were the earliest political society of consequence formed among Ottoman Moslems; Chapter II briefly introduces these dramatis personae. In Chapters III to VII the author attempts "to disentangle their ideological pedigree." This section is remarkable for its lack of clear outline as the discussion drifts back and forth between the classic Islamic and Ottoman periods and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thirteen pages are devoted to a questionable "reconstruction" at third hand of the "immediate origins" of the *Gülhane Hatt* of 1839. A discussion of "Turkish Political Elites in the Nineteenth Century" culminates in the assertion that the Young Ottoman represented a "triple alliance of

[lower] bureaucrats, ulema, and soldiers"; each of these, Mardin repeatedly discovers, "had his own ax to grind." No attempt is made to investigate what proportion of these groups sided with the nascent opposition movement. Within the Young Ottoman miscellany of malcontents, Kemal and Ziya held civil service posts, and many ulema were sympathetic to Suavi's yearning for Islamic tradition. Outside the group, Şinasi began his career as a clerk in the artillery corps, and Hayreddin as a soldier. But a sweeping class interpretation based on such biographical detail seems forced and overly schematic. Nor does it help "dispel some of the fog cast on nineteenth-century Turkish social history" to refer to a mid-century "decrease of the well-educated, broad-minded ulema" when the reader has already been informed that, as early as the eighteenth century, "The higher ulema had become completely corrupt and ignorant, even in matters of religion."

The core of the book consists of Chapters ix to xii in which the author lucidly examines the thinking of the leading Young Ottomans: Mustafa Fazıl, the cosmopolitan Egyptian prince of a cadet branch of the Khedivial line; Namık Kemal, the patriotic poet, dramatist, and journalist; Ziya Pasha, the poet and political littérateur; and Ali Suavi, the Moslem fanatic best known for his abortive (and to Suavi, fatal) attempt to restore the deposed Sultan Murad V in 1878. Similiar chapters are devoted to the poet-journalist Şinasi (1826-1871), whom Mardin rightly considers a precursor, and to Hayreddin Pasha, the Circassian governor of Tunis and later grand vizier who had no connection with the movement and who (in Mardin's quaint phrase) "did not go along all the way with even the limited iconoclasm of the Young Ottomans." Kemal's and Ziya's coauthorship of the 1876 constitution is only briefly considered.

In these chapters the author carefully analyzes the Young Ottomans' attempt to reconcile European political ideas, such as popular sovereignty, with Islamic traditions, such as the investiture of the caliph and the doctrines of consultation (*mesveret*) and consensus (*icma*) as well as their opposition to centralizing autocratic reform. He rightly concludes that, unable to create a harmonious synthesis, they were caught, individually and severally, in many "conflicting views of man, of society, and of the state," and that their legacy, therefore, has meant "different things to different students" of later Turkish generations. But one can fully accept Mardin's claim that "for the mere sake of opening up a perspective of political modernization somewhat deeper than that provided by the thirty odd years of the Turkish Republic, there . . . exists a need for an account of the Young Ottoman movement." Within such a perspective, it is too soon to expect a final systematic tableau. Mardin's book has the genuine merit of providing an enticing exploratory glimpse.

Columbia University

DANKWART A. RUSTOW

Africa

A HISTORY OF SIERRA LEONE. By *Christopher Fyfe*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. vii, 773. \$13.45.)

THIS remarkable volume deals primarily with the Sierra Leone Creoles, the liberated slaves who settled Sierra Leone from 1787 onward, and their descendants. It often reads more like a chronicle than a history, recording such details as the names of the children one of the governors had by both his first and second wives, including those who died in infancy.

My initial reaction to this approach was one of mild irritation. The reader finds no clue to the book's subject matter in the table of contents because the twenty-three chapters have no titles. One does not even discover until the last page that the story ends shortly after 1900. My surprise at finding no footnotes within the text changed almost to incredulity on pages 640-723, which contain a prodigious but cumbersome collection of seven thousand or more references, listed according to their page and line numbers.

The more one reads, however, the more he appreciates the exhaustive research of the author, not only in British official papers, but in French and American sources, missionary archives, the papers of Sierra Leone families, and Sierra Leone newspapers and other sources. The book is certain to become a standard reference work on Sierra Leone history.

Among Fyfe's best contributions are his evaluations of the many views of Sierra Leone expressed by British and other foreign visitors. Some of their writings were witty and therefore popular overseas, but Fyfe shows how their prejudices often helped to develop the widespread myth that African education was only "a veneer through which latent savagery kept bursting." Fyfe's comments on their biases amount to a series of valuable critical bibliographical comments interspersed throughout the text. Readers interested in studying white bias about Africans will find references to more than sixty of these writers conveniently indexed under the item, "Sierra Leone, opinions of." Richard Burton and Winwood Reade were two of those who not only heaped ridicule on the Creoles, but influenced the Anthropological Society of London, founded in 1863, "to turn into a society for proving the inferiority of non-Europeans."

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VERNON McKAY

LE MAROC ET L'EUROPE (1830-1894). Volume III, LES DIFFICULTÉS. By *Jean-Louis Miège*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1962. Pp. 508. 35 fr.)

ORIGINS OF NATIONALISM IN TUNISIA. By *Nicola A. Ziadeh*. [American University of Beirut, Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series, Number 37.] (Beirut: [the University.] 1962. Pp. 167.)

THE third volume of Professor Miège's multivolume study of Morocco and Europe concentrates mainly on the period 1860-1885. The author shows how European economic crises in 1867-1869 and 1878-1884 affected Morocco by hindering the much-needed reform programs of Sultan Sidi Mohammed and his son, Moulay Hassan, who succeeded him in 1873. European nationals held the key to Moroccan development. Sometimes they influenced the government positively as seen in the actions of the British consul, Sir John Drummond Hay, who supported Moroccan political and economic reforms; when the economy weakened, however, in 1878 many European investors abandoned their enterprises and left Morocco.

By the extensive use of archival and documentary sources the author convincingly explains how economic problems dominated Moroccan affairs in the mid-nineteenth century. A good harvest and a strong export market to Europe were essential. Although the reader finds ample statistical support for these economic changes, he looks in vain for a development of the political and social consequences attending Moroccan economic difficulties. There are references to cholera epidemics and internal disorders, but only the economic importance of these is stressed. Owing to the emphasis on all types of economic projects, which require frequent geographical references, the absence of a general map of Morocco is a disturbing omission. In summary, scholars can look forward to the completion of Volumes IV and V of this informative study.

After a brief historical sketch of the French protectorate in Tunisia, Professor Ziadeh concentrates on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Tunisian nationals reacted to French rule. By using consular reports and the works of the leading nationalists the author discusses the origin of moderate and radical nationalistic organizations. The newspaper *al-hādirah* appeared in 1888 as the organ of the moderate nationalists followed by the radical periodical *az-zuhrah* in 1890. These nineteenth-century movements were only the beginning of a nascent nationalism that reached maturity in the Young Tunisians, the Destour party, and the Neo-Destour party of the following century. The vital period of Tunisian nationalism is discussed in three short chapters raising questions that a more detailed treatment would presumably answer. Information, for example, is given indicating parallels between the political program of the Destour party and nineteenth-century European liberalism, but biographical sketches of Destour leaders, which might explain this relationship, are not included. This monograph outlines the nationalist movement to 1924, creating an appetite that will only be satisfied when the story is completed to Tunisian independence in 1957. Ziadeh's book should be welcomed as an introduction to an important era in the history of Tunisia.

De Pauw University

DWIGHT L. LING

Asia and the East

ASIAN TRADE AND EUROPEAN INFLUENCE IN THE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO BETWEEN 1500 AND ABOUT 1630. By *M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1962. Pp. viii, 471. Glds. 29.75.)

MRS. Meilink-Roelofs has produced a massive piece of scholarship which is at the same time a veritable storehouse of information about a too-little-known subject. The first five of her eleven chapters are devoted to trade, traffic, and traders in Indonesia before the arrival of the Portuguese; no less than three of these are concerned with fifteenth-century Malacca. Two chapters go to the sixteenth century and the Portuguese impact. The remaining four deal with the Dutch effort to monopolize spices, and its effects upon the "Spice Islands," Asian merchants and the trade of the north Javanese seaports. Her sources are almost entirely European writings: Portuguese, Dutch, and English; indigenous ones are dynastic in character with little to say about commerce. But she has used the very extensive material at her disposal to write a history of trade in her area that is not colonial history, as purveyed by Stapel and Gerretson, but Asian in a real sense. In her introduction she explains that she has been inspired to undertake the work that has resulted in this book by the theories of B. Schrieke and J. C. van Leur regarding the trade of the Indonesian Archipelago. Opinions may differ as to whether she succeeds in swinging the full half circle, as she calls it, from the European to the Indonesian angle, but no one will deny the richness of the feast that she sets before her readers.

Features of special interest in the work are its presentation of Malacca as the successor of Srivijaya, its exposition of the significant part played by the Chinese in Indonesian trade from the fourteenth century onward, its treatment of the pepper trade and the rise of the north Sumatran ports, the attention it directs to the Asian "reply" to Portuguese warfare and navigation and to the Portuguese failure to divert the stream of Asian merchandise to the cape route at the expense of Asian and Mediterranean trade, its examination of the failure of Jan Peterszoon Coen's attempt to annihilate Asian shipping and trade, and its estimate of the relative importance of the policy of the kingdom of Mataram and of Dutch activities in causing the rapid decline of the north Javanese ports.

Mrs. Meilink-Roelofs agrees with much that Schrieke and Van Leur have to say in their reaction against the treatment of Indonesian history from 1600 onward as colonial history, but she challenges Van Leur's ideas about the "peddling" character of Asian trade, the generally low status of the trader, the political motive as the main guiding force behind the spread of Islam in Indonesia, and his thesis that up to the beginning of the nineteenth century Asian trade and European trade were on an equal footing in Asia. Only further research can settle these points, and one can only hope that this well-produced volume, the product of

painstaking labor and intelligent thinking, will stimulate an active interest in its subject.

University of London

D. G. E. HALL

Americas

THE NATIONAL UNION CATALOG OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS, 1959-1961. Based on Reports from American Repositories of Manuscripts. Compiled by the Library of Congress with the advice of the Advisory Committee on the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections under a grant from the Council on Library Resources, Inc. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: J. W. Edwards, Publisher. 1962. Pp. viii, 1061. \$9.75.)

THIS first volume of the national inventory of manuscript collections is the fruit of ten years of planning by the Library of Congress and three years of operation by means of a generous grant from the Council on Library Resources. The manuscripts to be included in the completed *Catalog* exist in approximately 900 repositories, of which 400 are represented by nearly 7,300 collections in the present volume. Although manuscripts do not lend themselves to uniformity of description, the Library of Congress has imposed certain criteria on the repositories as to what and how they should report their holdings, with a high degree of success, especially in view of the magnitude of these materials throughout the United States. In a cooperative venture of this kind one could hardly expect total response from 900 repositories, but the high proportion of returns already assures national coverage.

The basic framework for compiling information on individual manuscript collections in a repository, developed by the Historical Records Survey a generation ago, has been followed in most subsequent compilations. The *Catalog*, at the risk of stresses and strains between manuscript curators and cataloguers of printed books, has achieved a modified format that is concise and logical. It consists of main entry (usually a personal, family, corporate, or collector's name), title or name of collection, physical description, location, scope and content, and information about previous descriptions, restrictions on access, literary rights, and provenance. The Library of Congress prints a three-by-five card for each collection with an MS serial number by which copies can be ordered; the main entry and title facilitate interfiling of cards for manuscript collections with cards for printed books. The 7,300 cards reproduced by photo-offset to form the present book catalogue and arranged numerically by serial number comprise all collections catalogued through the year 1961.

The final element on each card consists of the subject index entries for the collection, derived from the description of content. According to the introduction

to the *Catalog*, these entries, taken from the Library's cataloguing manual on *Subject Headings*, "were assigned according to the policies and practices governing their use with printed materials . . . [i.e.,] to assign the most specific heading characterizing the content of the work as a whole. . . . More than one heading is assigned to a collection if required to provide access to its principal contents." In many cases, however, these subject headings do not analyze the description of content in sufficient detail, or the "specific headings" are not specific enough. Furthermore, many a manuscript collection has no "principal contents." Its component parts may be on widely different and unrelated subjects. In these respects and others, manuscripts are not susceptible to rules for printed books. In the face of an impasse, how does the index solve the problem?

There are three indexes: by name, by subject, and by repository, with the serial numbers on the cards as the means of reference. Since the cards are arranged numerically rather than alphabetically by main entry, the user is absolutely dependent on the name and subject indexes. The name index includes all names of persons, families, corporations, associations, and governmental agencies, whether they appear as main entries or in the descriptions of content. This section of the volume is of greatest service.

The subject index, however, includes only the highly selective "subject headings" assigned to each collection in accordance with the rules mentioned above. Thus, for example, this indexing of the William Blathwayt Papers of Colonial Williamsburg is confined to the three assigned headings: "U.S.—Hist.—Colonial period—Sources"; "West Indies, British—Hist.—Sources"; and "Statesmen—Correspondence, Reminiscences, etc.," all of which are too general for effective indexing. Although the descriptive content of these papers reveals material on the Navigation Acts, colonial trade, piracy, tobacco trade in Virginia, the Negro problem in the Leeward Islands, the Pennsylvania charter, and so forth, none of these subjects appears in the index. One will find an analytical subject heading for "Tobacco manufacture and trade—Virginia" and for "Pennsylvania—Charters," but neither of these carries a reference to the Blathwayt Papers. To cite another example at random: the records of the Lowell Machine Shop relating to locomotives, machine tools, and textile machinery are not indexed under any of these subjects because this main entry was assigned no subject headings; yet the first and the last items in this description of content are subject headings in other entries and therefore appear in the index. Thus countless subjects, considered important enough to be included in the descriptions of content, are lost to the user because they did not measure up to the rules for cataloguing printed materials.

If the manuscript collections had been arranged alphabetically by main entry, the *Catalog* would serve many a user in a direct way, rather than bewilder him, before he turns to the indexes. The rich manuscript resources throughout the United States, which it is bringing under control, can be readily ascertained in great detail within the limits of the name index, and of the repository index to a lesser degree. But the omissions and other shortcomings of the subject index are so serious that

they should be corrected in the cumulative index that is promised for future publication as the *Catalog* continues to expand.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

LESTER J. CAPPON

THE COLONIAL PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE NEW WORLD.

By *Silvio Zavala*. Abridgement in English by *Max Savelle*. [Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, Publication Number 239. Program of the History of the New World, Volume II.] (México, D. F.: the Instituto. 1962. Pp. xxviii, 359.)

SINCE 1950 the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, under the direction of Silvio Zavala, has been outlining systematically and comprehensively the history of America from preconquest to modern times in its Program of the History of the New World. The coordinators of the three subcommittees of the program, Pedro Armillas (native period), Silvio Zavala (colonial period), and Charles Griffin (national period), have completed their outlines designed to serve as guides for course planning, to stimulate research, and to foster social scientists' collaboration.

This English abridgement of Zavala's coordination of twelve collaborators' spadework covers the New World from culture contact situations in America to the "End of the Euro-American Colonial Empires." The approach is multidisciplinary, inductive rather than deductive, eclectic rather than selective, suggestive rather than dogmatic. Chapters begin with an overview of the "general aspects" of a theme, then pursue the theme within the geographical framework of empire in America, whether Spanish, Portuguese, English, Dutch, or French. Each chapter contains a selected bibliography, and at the end of the volume there is appended a general bibliography.

There are virtues in this general outline of colonial experience in the present stage of the historiography of the New World. Zavala presents a broad schematic view of what Latin American historians have too long neglected, the creation of distinctive colonial cultures in the "American provinces" between 1550 and 1763. In "America in the New World-Wide Relationships" he has a refreshing, inclusive view of cultural development, incorporating not only indigenous and European factors, but also the influence of Asia and Africa, and intercolonial contacts as well. The volumes should stimulate comparative analyses of the colonial New World when such studies are in their infancy, and explore further the general problem of unity and diversity in America's historical evolution.

Enumeration of the volume's contributions should not obscure its shortcomings. Savelle, the translator-abridger, supplies no information about Zavala's original work, why an abridgement was made, and to what extent the abridgement's emphases differ from those of the original. More serious defects emerge from the volume's encyclopedic scope. Perhaps Zavala, as president of the commission, di-

rector of the program, and coordinator of the colonial period, felt constrained to be overly faithful to collaborators' contributions. Whatever the reasons, this is only an annotated outline of a summary of syntheses, lacking the insight and craftsmanship that Zavala displayed in his *Estudios indianos*. In sum, the preparation of a full-blown synthesis of the colonial period on the American continent remains to be done.

Princeton University

STANLEY J. STEIN

AMERICA AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION AND OTHER LECTURES. By *Arnold J. Toynbee*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 231. \$4.75.)

THESE are three sets of three lectures, each delivered recently in Montreal, Philadelphia, and at the University of Puerto Rico. They read like lectures. They have the unity of first, Toynbee's familiar philosophy of history, and second, of concentration on the familiar contemporary theme of "Whither Mankind?" Their specific focus is the present posture of the United States in international politics, with particular reference to the Russo-American conflict and to the problems set the United States and the Western world generally by the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa, and the very similar problems set by the newly stirring nations of Latin America.

Toynbee's central thesis is well indicated by the titles of the lectures on "America and the World Revolution": "The Shot Heard Round the World," "The Handicap of Affluence," "Can America Re-join Her Own Revolution?" We Americans began, at Lexington and Concord, a revolution that has since spread around the world (it is the same revolution, according to Toynbee), a democratic revolution to achieve social justice for all men. As a rich and successful society we have now lost touch with the "principles of 1776 and 1789"; we must get back in touch with them, or we shall lose the sympathies of mankind and miss the wave of the future. In a characteristically oversimple figure of speech, Toynbee says we must choose between the role of Metternich and the role of Mazzini.

This book will hardly soften a much less fatal but apparently quite as bitter a conflict as the present world conflict, that between Toynbee and the great majority of professional historians he likes to call "antinomians." The love of symbols and metaphors, the constant use of comparisons so odious to most of us, the claims to omniscience his themes seem to impose on the lecturer, the very British piety that makes even his good manners seem a form of patronizing—all this and much else we find irritating. Yet at the very least the historian of ideas has got to try to understand Toynbee and the reasons for his popular success. Clearly he gives the public something the professional historian does not give them. We cannot give them just what he gives them without betraying professional ethics, and indeed without betraying something deeper and more important. But we should perhaps try a little harder to give our own more modest—and in a sense more en-

couraging—answers to that Toynbee question most of us shy wholly away from: Whither Mankind?

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

THE CAREER OF JOHN COTTON: PURITANISM AND THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE. By *Larzer Ziff*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 280. \$6.00.)

JOHN Cotton, as Larzer Ziff acutely observes, epitomized American medieval, a pattern of an experience that had already become anachronistic when his admiring grandson, Cotton Mather, wrote the first—and last—biography. Since then, Cotton's stock has sunk while his adversary, Roger Williams, has become the hero of a secular age. Ziff tries to unravel the puzzle noted by Moses Coit Tyler that John Cotton, despite his limited theological ideas, ruled brilliantly as the unmitigated pope of a fierce New England theocracy.

The author dwells primarily upon Cotton's sermons, although he concludes that it was the changing social environment that rendered his plausible theology obsolete in one generation. Ziff denies that he has written a biography in the usual sense, but fortunately, he provides significant biographic facts to guide his readers through this intellectual history.

The focus is therefore upon the evolution of Cotton's nonconforming ideas of Puritanism beginning with his Cambridge days under the influence of William Perkins who preached the total helplessness of sin-bred man and his utter dependence upon divine grace as a free gift. From England's Boston to New England's Boston, John Cotton went forth to preach varied nonconforming ideas that avoided the extreme Separatism of Roger Williams and the Right-wing synodal principles of Presbyterianism; in the process, he coined the term Congregationalism. Bradford's Plymouth seemed bad enough to him in its Separatist emphasis, but this must not go any further.

Cotton's debates with Williams over toleration revealed the former's theocratic restrictions upon freedom of conscience, but the man of the two Bostons was not as reactionary as the other leaders who banished Williams for his errors without waiting "to convince his conscience," a procedure Cotton deplored. Cotton feared the infection of heretical ideas that threatened the dream of a Puritan commonwealth; at the same time he himself dabbled with some of the untried inspirationist ideas of the Protestant Revolt.

He played a rather unheroic role in the famous trial of his pupil, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, for her Antinomian errors which included the challenging claim of an immediate divine revelation. Cotton had attracted the Antinomians because he seemed so different from the legalists in trusting the promptings of the spirit. In the crisis, he tried at first to argue that Mrs. Hutchinson had been misunderstood, but that enthusiastic lady soon made this impossible by adding still more offending doctrines. Cotton hastily deserted her as the theocrats demanded her banishment and left her still another sacrifice to preserve the holy commonwealth.

For all his inconsistencies and waverings, Cotton strengthened the theocracy in its intrusion into secular issues. Yet he was comparatively conservative in this respect also. His book *Moses His Judicials*, as Isabel Calder has demonstrated, actually followed English legal practice except for scriptural ideas of crime and inheritance. He urged "lawful delights" and recreations in moderation. Even card playing, except for gain, was permissible. But his economic ideas were still medieval, as one notes in his condemnation of the merchant who argued the principle of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, but he concluded that the businessman had been guilty only of false principles, not covetousness.

Although I feel that a more rounded biographic form would have been more effective in unraveling the mystery of John Cotton, this is a fresh, well-written, and thoughtful study of New England's theocracy, which successfully resolves the chief contradictions that puzzled Tyler and Parrington.

Western Reserve University

HARVEY WISH

REVIVALISM AND SEPARATISM IN NEW ENGLAND, 1740-1800: STRICT CONGREGATIONALISTS AND SEPARATE BAPTISTS IN THE GREAT AWAKENING. By C. C. Goen. [Yale Publications in Religion, Number 2.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 370. \$7.50.)

SIXTY years is a long time to wait for a re-examination of the Separate churches that broke away from the Standing Order in Connecticut and Massachusetts as a result of the Great Awakening. Yet S. L. Blake's book, *The Separates*, which has been the only substantial treatment of the subject, was published two generations ago. Now the ground has been resurveyed, and Goen's achievement is most readily assessed by comparing his book with the one it supplants.

In the first place, Blake was a Congregational minister, who cherished equally evangelical religion, pure congregationalism, and the separation of church and state. He was eager to defend the Separates, not simply as revivalists whose extravagances should be treated indulgently, but also as opponents of the Standing Order in Connecticut, which had been Presbyterianized by the Saybrook Platform and which relied on the coercive power of government to maintain its privileged position. In his hands, the history of the Separates is an exercise in the definition of true congregationalism, as well as an inconclusive attempt to find out why a group with right and truth on its side failed to prosper. Goen, on the other hand, has no such special ax to grind; for while, as a Baptist himself, he is legitimately interested in the process by which Separate churches often became Baptist churches, his book is free from undue denominational or factional bias.

Secondly, Blake's book was really about the Separates in Connecticut, with afterthoughts about southeastern Massachusetts. Goen has cast his net more widely and gives a far better picture of the geographical extent of the movement.

Two maps, which one could wish had been reproduced on a larger scale, confirm the fact that eastern Connecticut was the main focus of the movement, but show that it spread out into northern New England in a way that had not previously been recognized. In the third place, Blake illustrated the activities of Separate churches by summarizing the history of a limited number of them. Goen has much more systematically searched out all the Separate churches and has listed the essential facts in an appendix, which will serve as a useful check list for future reference. Finally, Blake was content to indicate that a number of Separate Congregational churches eventually became Baptist, but at that point he lost interest. Goen is as much concerned with Separate Baptists as with Separate Congregationalists, and demonstrates how important in the formation of the Baptist tradition was this influx of Calvinistic revivalists.

In short, Goen has been inclusive in his concept of his project, thorough in his collection of materials, and intelligent in putting relevant questions to the data he has amassed. The result is not so lively a book as one might have wanted, but it is eminently sound and useful. It may even be the standard treatment for the next sixty years.

Harvard Divinity School

CONRAD WRIGHT

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1746-1750, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. [*Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, Volume XII.] (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1962. Pp. x, 634. \$7.50.)

NINETY years ago John Langdon Sibley published the first volume of this work covering, in chronological sequence, members of the Harvard classes of 1642 to 1658. Before his death in 1885 Sibley completed two other volumes, carrying the record through the class of 1689. His will bequeathed to the Massachusetts Historical Society a substantial fund for the continuation of the work, which became available after the death of his widow in 1902. For more than a quarter of a century income accumulated, for the society found no one with the ability or inclination to carry out Sibley's monumental plan. Finally in the enthusiasm of the Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary, Samuel Eliot Morison persuaded Clifford K. Shipton, of the class of 1926, to undertake it. In 1933 the first of Shipton's volumes in continuation of Sibley appeared; the latest, his ninth, reaches the middle of the eighteenth century.

The title suggests a dull work of antiquarian piety, which this most emphatically is not. Readers who have followed the series are familiar with the combination of exhaustive research and literary skill that Shipton brings to his demanding task. They can never fathom how, in addition to running the American Antiquarian Society and the Harvard University Archives, he finds the time to achieve, singlehandedly, this monumental work, or, indeed, contrives to make the lives of

comparatively dull men such entrancing reading. Those who are unfamiliar with "Sibley's Harvard Graduates" will soon find that it is, in effect, a dictionary of Massachusetts colonial biography that can be read for amusement as well as profit. Once they discover Sibley, they too will wish Shipton a long life.

The present volume includes such graduates as the centenarian Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, the signers William Ellery and Robert Treat Paine, the loyalist Jonathan Sewall, General Artemas Ward, and Gideon Hawley, missionary to the Indians. Sketches of recipients of honorary and *ad eundem* degrees are included with the classes with which they presumably would have graduated had they attended Harvard College. Thus Volume XII embraces Generals George Washington (LL.D., 1776), Horatio Gates (LL.D., 1779), and Benjamin Lincoln (A.M., 1780), as well as the fifth and sixth presidents of Yale, Ezra Stiles (A.M., *ad eundem* 1754) and Naphtali Daggett (A.M., *ad eundem* 1771).

As in Volume XI, references have been reduced to those in out-of-the-way sources. This, much as one may regret it, is inevitable, if the volumes are to stay within reasonable bounds.

Boston Athenæum

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Volume IV, JULY 1, 1750, THROUGH JUNE 30, 1753; Volume V, JULY 1, 1753, THROUGH MARCH 31, 1755. Edited by *Leonard W. Labaree et al.* [Sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1961; 1962. Pp. xxviii, 544; xxvi, 575. \$10.00 each.)

THE publication of the fourth and fifth volumes of the Yale edition of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* carries the progress of this magisterial scholarly enterprise from July 1, 1750, through March 31, 1755—roughly the moment of the beginning of the Braddock expedition. The established pattern of editorial mechanics continues, essentially unchanged. Certain imperfections also remain. The numbering of the footnotes continues to follow a confusing order, or lack of it, that has no discernibly rational *raison d'être*; the index continues to be almost entirely innocent of any topical analysis; and I note a number of minor typographical and editorial errors in Volume V.

In the fourth volume of *The Papers* Franklin's enthusiastic scientific investigation and writing are more copiously represented than any other interest. Here appears the development, for example, of Franklin's theory that lightning is an electrical phenomenon, which he had apparently first suggested in a letter to Dr. John Mitchell dated April 29, 1749. Franklin set up an experiment to test the validity of the theory, and this experiment was repeated in England and in several countries on the Continent, including a repetition in the presence of the king of France.

In 1751 the first group of Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* . . . was published in London by Peter Collinson. All of the papers in this pamphlet were written by Franklin himself. Part II was published in 1753; in it

was one letter by Ebenezer Kinnersley. Part III was published in 1754; four of the six papers in this "part" were written by Franklin, one by David Colden, one by John Canton. There are many other documents in this volume of *The Papers* that reflect Franklin's scientific activities, largely letters to and from him.

Franklin's scientific work attracted attention and brought him honor all over the Western world. Harvard and Yale awarded him honorary master of arts degrees; the Royal Society awarded him the Copley medal; the king of France commended him for his contributions to knowledge. His scientific work had made him one of the outstanding intellectual figures in the Western world.

Meanwhile, Franklin's activities and involvements as a public man were absorbing more and more of his time and energy, encroaching more and more upon his work as a scientist. Thus, although Franklin's interest in science certainly continued, the contents of Volume V of *The Papers* are predominantly devoted to public affairs.

In 1751 Franklin became both a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and an alderman of Philadelphia. As a member of the Assembly, he served upon many committees, in connection with which he wrote, or helped to write, reports, recommendations, and laws pertaining to the issuance of provincial currency and the consequent disputes between the Assembly and the governor, provincial defense and assistance to the Braddock expedition, the regulation of trade with the French, Indian relations, the western boundary of Pennsylvania, and so on.

Meanwhile, also, as a private citizen, Franklin continued his work for the Academy. For many years he was deeply concerned with the apparently unassimilable character of the many Germans in Pennsylvania and feared the effect of their presence upon the welfare of the province and the Empire. Worst of all, since the Germans knew no loyalty to British culture, institutions, or government, he feared they might easily be subverted by the French enemies of the colonies, to be led to turn against the province and the Empire, or at least to remain neutral. Franklin associated himself with William Smith, Peter Collinson, and the German Society in England in an extensive campaign to Anglicize the Germans. Franklin also continued his work as a publisher. He edited *Poor Richard Improved*, published books for such writers as Samuel Johnson in 1751-1752, and, as part of his effort to Anglicize the Germans, published *Die Hoch Teutsche und Englische Zeitung*, which was a failure. (It is to be hoped that a list of Franklin's publications, as definitive as may be possible, may one day be published as part of this project.) Franklin's activities as a public man were coming rapidly to transcend Pennsylvania's provincial affairs. For it was in this period that his administrative work as Joint Deputy Postmaster General (with William Hunter) began to take up much of his time and energy. This was an intercolonial activity that may be supposed to have broadened and strengthened Franklin's realization of the need for some sort of intercolonial union.

The condition of fact that led to Franklin's distinguished participation in the Albany congress of 1754 and the preparation of his famous plan of union was, of

course, the tension between the French and the British colonial Empires in the hemisphere, and the related problem of maintaining good relations with the Indians of the interior, who were expected to be an important, if not a decisive factor in the coming struggle for control of the continent. The editors of *The Papers* have included a generous selection of documents relative to the Albany congress. It is of special interest to note that they differ substantially from the conclusions of Lawrence H. Gipson on the authorship of the Albany plan and, in particular, on the role of Thomas Hutchinson in the congress and in the preparation of the plan.

It was the passage of the Iron Act by Parliament in 1750, apparently, that led Franklin to write his famous essay "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind . . .," originally written in 1751, but first printed as an appendix to William Clarke's *Observations on the Late and Present Conduct of the French . . .* (1755). Franklin's objective was to show that the American market for manufactured goods, by reason of the phenomenal growth of American population, was expanding so rapidly that British factories alone could not keep up with the American demand, and, therefore, that they should not fear American competition. In doing so, however, he presented the first systematic study of population problems in the colonies; in it, he anticipated the thought of Thomas Malthus and others.

It was Franklin's thought about imperial relationships that underlay the writing of this famous essay; the same sort of thinking lay behind his plan of union and the problems of getting it accepted by the colonies, if possible; most explicitly, it was the problem of intrainperial relationships that underlay his famous correspondence with Governor William Shirley in 1754 and 1755 relative to the possibility of uniting the colonies, English taxation of them, or having them represented in Parliament. In this correspondence Franklin clearly enunciated the principle of the national integrity of the whole Empire and appealed for a reorganization that would guarantee that the British subjects in America would be on a footing of complete equality, politically, economically, and otherwise, with those in Britain itself.

If Franklin's thinking on the Empire in 1754 and 1755 may be taken as representative of any considerable body of Americans, as it probably may, this correspondence, with all its protests of loyalty to the British imperial nation, becomes a documentation, or a symptom, of a nascent critical American attitude toward British colonial policy, which would one day lead first to resistance and then to independence. Franklin now begins to emerge as a political philosopher, an American philosopher of the nature of the British Empire and the place of the colonies in it.

The chief comment to be made on these two volumes of *The Franklin Papers*, however, must be on the quality of the editorial work that accompanies the documents. The editors have spared no expert care to collate texts, to arrive at proper attributions of authorship, or to explain the nature and the contexts of the documents printed. Simply to read, for example, the headnotes to Franklin's instructions for the making of the famous kite experiment, to Franklin's letter of May 9,

1753, to Peter Collinson, relative to the German problem, to the various documents relative to the Albany congress and its plan of union, or to Franklin's letters to William Shirley in 1754 and 1755 is a salutary and instructive exercise in critical historical scholarship. Reading these editorial notes also re-emphasizes the fact that sometimes, as in the cases of the kite experiment or the letter on the Germans, editorial certainty is not possible, but that editors must occasionally make decisions as to which of several doubtful texts to use, recognizing that the published text still may not be letter-perfect as the author originally formulated it. These headnotes, taken with the biographical identifications and other footnotes, provide a brilliantly valuable context for the documents themselves. That is the feature of this edition of Franklin's papers that gives it its unique and lasting value for scholars and places it so far above any other edition of Franklin's writings ever printed.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

TOWARDS AN AMERICAN ARMY: MILITARY THOUGHT FROM WASHINGTON TO MARSHALL. By *Russell F. Weigley*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 297. \$7.50.)

THE United States has never managed to create an army that could wholly reconcile the conflicting demands of the nation's social order and its military security because the former calls for a citizen-soldiery and the latter for a professional force. Thus, while a variety of arguments have been advanced in behalf of each and various forms of compromise have been effected between the two, no completely satisfactory solution has yet been found, and "the search for an American army still goes on." Professor Weigley, by concentrating upon the ideas of men who have given long and considered thought to these problems, has clarified the issues and performed a valuable service for military historians and makers of American military policy. One fact that emerges from the welter of arguments and counterclaims is that no single solution, however good at one point in time, will suffice forever. Armies must be formed in accordance with the purposes they are intended to serve and upon the weapons that exist at any given moment in history. An army intended solely to maintain order in the Indian country is not the kind one would design to keep the country out of major wars or to repel invasions. An army intended to repress civil disorder or to man coastal fortifications is not the ideal force to send upon an overseas offensive. Similarly, the large citizen armies that fought with the conventional weapons of the 1940's will not be the ideal instrument for the kinds of wars that can be visualized for the future.

Too often in its history this nation has driven its military thinkers to a counsel of despair or compelled them to frame unworkable military policies by failing to keep uppermost the objectives for which its army was being maintained. Weigley's analysis shows, however, that there is no inevitable incompatibility between the requirements of a good army and the American social order. A major function of an army in a democratic state must be the military education of its citizenry so

that policy makers can maintain flexibility in determining what shape the army of the future will take. The wisest men who have paraded their thoughts across the pages of this book, civilians and soldiers alike, have realized that a well-trained citizenry, acting under sound professional direction, can meet most of the threats to a nation's military security.

American Council of Learned Societies

GORDON B. TURNER

THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE: AN INTERPRETATION.

By *Alexander DeConde*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. viii, 182. Cloth \$4.50, paper \$1.75.)

THIS slender volume succeeds admirably in fulfilling the author's purpose: to present an interpretation and analysis of the office of Secretary of State. It is, as he says, "more an introduction than a monograph and hence makes no claim to comprehensiveness." The main theme "is the conventional one that the power of the Secretary of State depends on his relations with the President and hence is personal more than institutional." In eight readable chapters DeConde discusses the origins of the office, its authority and limitations, the selection of the incumbents, the men who have acted or tried to act as heir apparent or prime minister, those who have been reduced to figureheads, those who developed a workable partnership with their chiefs, the need of Secretaries for political acumen, and the question of administrative skill. This organization makes for some repetition. Citations, even for long quotations are unfortunately absent, but there are a critical bibliographical note and an index. The volume rests on a discriminating reading of the best secondary literature plus the author's own research in certain primary sources, printed and manuscript. DeConde attempts throughout to formulate rules that govern the office and its incumbents (for example, a Secretary cannot belong to a party different from that of the President; he does not have to be popular to be successful; he is picked more for his political assets than for his diplomatic experience). The author has a keen eye for anecdotes and a commendable ability to arrange familiar facts in a fresh and arresting way.

His generalizations, though usually shrewd, will elicit some dissent. No one will deny that the Secretary of State is the representative of the President, not of the people. No one can object to the list of qualities that an outstanding Secretary should possess. But some will wonder about the omission of Jefferson, Madison, Root, and Hull from DeConde's list of the ten ablest Secretaries of State. Others will object to the order (Adams, Seward, Acheson, Dulles, Fish, Webster, Hughes, Marshall, Hay, Stimson) or compare it with the results of a poll, taken in 1951 by Dexter Perkins, of an earlier generation of diplomatic historians (Adams, Fish, Seward, Jefferson, Root, Hay, Hughes, Hull, Stimson, Webster). In short, this is a thoughtful and thought-provoking volume which, while making no pretense of being a major contribution to learning, is important, useful, and timely.

Northwestern University

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

THE PAPERS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Volume V, JUNE 1788–NOVEMBER 1789; Volume VI, DECEMBER 1789–AUGUST 1790. Edited by *Harold C. Syrett*. *Jacob E. Cooke*, Associate Editor. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 609; xiii, 629. \$12.50 each.)

APPEARANCE of these volumes brings this remarkable series toward one-third of completion. The papers now presented cover two of the busiest years of Hamilton's career. They embrace ratification of the Constitution by his state of New York (in great part his doing), his basic proposals for rescue of the public credit, and his opening negotiations with Dutch bankers for foreign loans. What he himself called "little less than a revolution in the Government" incessantly absorbed his energies. No sooner was the Constitution offered to the states than all means must be used to ensure acceptance by New York. Without this centrally located state, blessed with the finest harbor and river access to the interior, the national project could not prosper politically or economically. Hamilton, therefore, exerted himself to promote election of sympathetic delegates to the convention to assemble at Poughkeepsie, and at that meeting, with able assistance, wrung a favorable vote from what had seemed insuperable opposition.

At this point one less committed to establishment of the United States would have eased his public efforts in order to free his attention for private professional demands. But no, Hamilton was assiduous as ever. He begged Washington to accept the presidency to which he would be called by the unanimous voice, for "It is to little purpose to have *introduced* a system, if the weightiest influence is not given to its firm *establishment*, in the outset." He strove, without success, to displace Governor George Clinton, a chief enemy of the Constitution, by electing Robert Yates in New York. Then after Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury (September 1789) much of the organization of the national government, and its effective operation, fell upon him.

As in previous volumes, the editors' annotations are illuminating, placing the reader in possession of personalities and situations represented in the papers. They are unusually serviceable when introductory to a particularly influential document or event. Such is the essay on possible sources of the first report on public credit, January 1790. Less zealous scholars would have been content with a few formal observations, but Professors Syrett and Cooke have ferreted out and brought together an extraordinary number and variety of materials available to Hamilton in making his recommendations. Indeed, they have found more than he could have compassed. The editors rightly say that the report was not original in its ingredients, though Hamilton's synthesis of his borrowings was creative. Whatever his debt to others, his proposals were informed by his earnest purpose to commence the government with an act of honor. The foreign debt should be paid according to contract, the domestic might be converted, on any one of several plans, to a near equivalent of the original engagement, and those who chose not to accept any modification should ultimately be satisfied precisely. There must be no discrimina-

tion between first and subsequent holders of public securities. In these resolves Hamilton needed no teachers. Further, he was bolstered by the conviction that, if well begun, the government would gain prestige and the country would make material progress beyond the imagination of most of his contemporaries. This advance would render easy the shouldering of debt burdens that others feared were crushing. No statesman of the period founded his plans so much on development as did Hamilton. Of his many valuable qualities foresight was not the least.

Discussion of accounting aspects of the debt problem (Volume VI) is the most exact with which I am acquainted. Gathered from numerous quarters are all of the possible solutions and treatments. This is a service not performed in a day, and it is doubtful whether anybody since Oliver Wolcott, Jr., has been in so good a position to judge of different expedients as we now are, thanks to the industry of these Hamilton scholars. To an attentive reader of all of the volumes in this series it seems that the present pair give special emphasis to opinions being expressed in the newspapers and magazines of the time. This is an enrichment of Hamilton's writings, and one that we could not enjoy without the service of these editors, for the materials in question are available in no one place and are rare at that.

As before, the completeness of this publication is superb. The "tyranny of the unread" is just about banished, for these scholars have explored every source and have illuminated what, in spite of earlier efforts, had lain hidden. Often we are enabled now to see, as it were, the other side of the moon. Much that was guesswork is done away. The editors are too modest to label their unique finds, but admiring readers will gratefully give them credit.

Hofstra College

BROADUS MITCHELL

IGNATIUS DONNELLY: THE PORTRAIT OF A POLITICIAN. By *Martin Ridge*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. x, 427. \$7.95.)

ONLY a courageous investigator would attempt a life of Donnelly. The sheer quantity of available manuscript material on his career provides, at the beginning, an almost insuperable barrier. Donnelly saved nearly every letter and document that crossed his desk. He pasted up book after book of newspaper clippings. He kept a diary. He wrote books, many books, books on many diverse subjects. He made innumerable speeches, records of which he treasured, whether in newspaper reports or in manuscript. He was an intemperate saver who seemingly had a horror of wastebaskets. The "quickie" investigator, who reads three books in order to write a fourth, has done well to stay away from Donnelly. Further, the problem of Donnelly is far greater than even the laborious perusal of all his literary remains could ever solve. His political twistings and turnings almost defy description. As one hostile critic observed, in the course of his public life he "had been on all sides of all questions and all religions." How can a mere historian, anchored as he must be to the documents, explain such a man?

Donnelly, after his early rejection by the Republican party, embraced in succession nearly every third-party venture that came along; more than that, he was in on the birth pains of some of them. It is difficult to uncover the motives that go into the making of such a man. Pseudo historians, pretending a degree of omniscience not given to ordinary humans, can write readable nonsense on such subjects, and often do. But if the mind of a living man can elude the best of the psychiatrists, how much less can we hope to understand the mind of one long dead? For the most part, Professor Ridge sticks to the record and lets it speak for itself. But he ventures some shrewd guesses. Donnelly was "never without a feeling of alienation from the group." "The revolt of son against mother, of citizen against city, of lawyer against legal system, of Catholic against Church, of politician against party, of author against critic, were all within his compass." He was convinced of his own superiority, and hungry for the opportunity to demonstrate it. But his life was one long series of frustrations. "His years of struggle for power forced him into the mold of an intense person, extremely jealous of his prerogatives, supremely assured of his own righteousness, easy to admire from a distance, but highly difficult to work with." He found it natural to identify himself with the downtrodden and dispossessed, and he sought earnestly to fight their battles for them. But for those who wielded power, whether political or economic, he had only suspicion and contempt. He even distrusted other intellectuals, including "college professors, especially Shakespearean experts and economists."

Ridge has given us a well-written, well-balanced, and well-researched book on a man who won the sobriquet "The Great Commoner" long before it was bestowed on William Jennings Bryan. And, although the author makes no such claims, his book shows that Donnelly, far more than Bryan, popularized and promoted most of the reforms that twentieth-century progressives enacted into law.

University of California, Berkeley

JOHN D. HICKS

GREAT SURVEYS OF THE AMERICAN WEST. By *Richard A. Bartlett*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 38.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1962. Pp. xxiii, 408. \$7.95.)

A COMPREHENSIVE history of the King, Hayden, Powell, and Wheeler Surveys that operated in the West during the 1860's and 1870's has been a glaring lack for so long that even an imperfect book on the subject becomes indispensable. Richard Bartlett's attempt at that monumentally difficult and demanding task is probably indispensable because it is the first book to bring all four of the so-called "Great Surveys" under extensive comparative scrutiny. But it is so imperfect that it makes me want to cry for the book it might have been.

Faced with a study whose sources are badly scattered, buried in official files, lost in obscure newspapers, and confused by controversy, partisanship, and plain ignorance, Bartlett has done a commendable job of assembling essential data. There is much in his book that can be found nowhere else, and much more that is

here given its most logical context. He has reinstated the Hayden Survey, though hardly Hayden himself, and given to its Yellowstone explorations and its *Atlas of Colorado* the credit they deserve. He has tried, not so successfully, to make a case for Wheeler's freewheeling topographical coverage, and has appraised, with sobriety and on sound evidence, the King Survey of the fortieth parallel, though he attributes to it more lasting scientific value than in fact it had. He tries, mildly, to debunk Powell, presenting him as able, ambitious, and not entirely scrupulous.

One does not quarrel with a historian's right to make judgments. But one does object when the evidence is either overlooked, misread, or taken uncritically. The author accepts without question the charges against Powell made by Billy Hawkins and Jack Sumner included in Stanton-Chalfant's *Colorado River Controversies*. He says that Powell dismissed his faithful Colorado River boatmen, without thanks or notice, and never saw them again. But if he had looked more carefully in the Powell Survey archives, he would have found letters from Billy Hawkins indicating that Hawkins was a packer for Powell Survey parties for years after the river expeditions, and if he had found my own full-length study of the Powell Survey, he would have discovered many things about those anti-Powell rumors that he evidently does not know. He would even have found explanations of Powell's date juggling in his official report, explanations that palliate, though they surely do not fully excuse, that juggling.

It is one thing to overlook pertinent data; in a subject so vast and complex as this, it is not only forgivable, but inevitable. But it is another to misread what one does find, or fail to check it for error or contradiction. Did the King Survey cost the government \$600,000, as we are told on page 212, or \$368,000, as we are told on page 311? If Powell is to be criticized for his ambition, why ignore the ambition of Hayden, which was so colossal that it offended all Washington? How does it happen that the bibliography, in listing one of Powell's reports, copies verbatim a typographical error from Darrah's *Powell of the Colorado*?

And why, finally, did not someone, Bartlett or his editor, proofread this book?

Stanford University

WALLACE STEGNER

INSULL. By *Forrest McDonald*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 350. \$4.95.)

SAMUEL Insull emerges from Professor McDonald's biography as an entrepreneur advancing technology in a complex matrix of politics, finance, and personal relationships. Arriving in America in 1881 as Thomas Edison's private secretary, twenty-one-year-old British-born Insull absorbed the creative drive of inventor-engineer Edison. Insull managed Edison's electrical central station and manufacturing enterprises from 1883 to 1892, and learned of the interaction of Wall Street finance, product, and market. He dominated the central station industry of Chicago and then the Midwest from 1892 to 1932, creating a model industry and a great holding complex supplying one-eighth of the nation's electricity. Dur-

ing the Great Depression Insull fell from the pinnacle of power to the depth of ignominy. He saw his empire in ruins, and he faced federal trial for using the mails to defraud (he was found not guilty).

Until 1912 Insull, according to McDonald, pursued success as defined by the heroes of Victorian author Samuel Smiles, whom Insull read and admired. Success or creativity was manifest in things, not in abstract power. Before 1912 the successful Insull managed the introduction of such significant things as the rotary converter, the giant steam turbogenerator, and the rural electrification grid. Insull distributed electricity from efficient stations of great size over a large area of diversified and, therefore, economic load.

The turning point, McDonald believes, came in the spring of 1912. After this Insull sought power rather than "success." McDonald's flair for psychological insight and occasional resort to easy generalization distort his usually clear concept of complex reality as he explains the turning point. Through sketchy psychoanalysis McDonald tries to persuade the reader that a dramatic denial by Insull's wife resulted in his seeking for the remainder of his life to substitute power over persons for the frustrated relationship with his wife. Insull sought this power through creation of great business organizations. McDonald, who uses fully documented chapters to describe corporate structures, explains a supposed cataclysmic character transformation in a few undocumented pages.

Despite his protestation that he only wants the reader to know Insull—"whether you like him . . . is a matter of total indifference"—McDonald's biography is sympathetic. The consistency with which Insull emerges heroic and his antagonists, especially New York financiers, appear only human, suggests this sympathy. Nevertheless, the arduous and imaginative research, the logical organization and lively style place us in McDonald's debt for an informative book that will counter the residue of prejudice toward the man who could view Chicago's electrical light and power as his entrepreneurial creation.

Washington and Lee University

THOMAS P. HUGHES

BUSINESSMEN AND REFORM: A STUDY OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT. By *Robert H. Wiebe*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 283. \$6.00.)

THIS gracefully written, thoroughly researched, and imaginative book is a distinct addition to the literature on the progressive movement. Professor Wiebe is distressed with two aspects of the recent writing on progressivism: he is skeptical of the validity of approaching the movement through individuals, either by the rhetoric of politicians and publicists or by such intangible concepts as liberals versus conservatives or status politics and the like; he is troubled by the inclination invariably to cast the businessman as the villain of the piece.

To repair such distortions, the author has done a vast amount of research among the manuscripts of business leaders in congressional hearings annual re-

ports of business organizations, and business publications, with especial reference to the individual pieces of progressive reform legislation. From this impressive research the author finds that most such legislation enacted after 1907 was sparked and supported not by individuals but rather by pressure groups of one sort or another, that among the most powerful of such groups were various organized business interests, that the business community was never a monolithic opinion group but rather was split into many organized and often conflicting factions. Over the impending Federal Reserve legislation he found, for example, sharp differences of opinion between "the New York magnates" and the large inland city bankers and the smaller country institutions. A similar situation the author found in the controversies over the passage of railroad rate regulation, the parcel post act, the tariff, and antitrust legislation. Far from being obstructionist to the progressive movement, the author concludes, "the business community was the most important single factor—or set of factors—in the development of economic regulation. And a significant portion of this influence supported reform."

Wiebe's approach to progressivism, through "content" rather than through personality, and through the organized group rather than through the individual, incontrovertibly has great value. It reflects the "hard nosed" approach to history as well as the growing school of present thought that the individual as an effective political agent is passé and that the tomorrows belong to the organized self-interested groups. But the method also has its limitations and contains its own distortions. For progressivism was not only a matter of the calculating head; it also enlisted the human heart and the human conscience, potent elements which have been notoriously difficult to organize but with which the politician must always deal. But whatever weaknesses this volume contains, its great merits so far outweigh them that future historians will have to consult it. The author is to be congratulated.

University of California, Los Angeles

GEORGE E. MOWRY

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL THOUGHT OF CHARLES A. BEARD.

By *Bernard C. Borning*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1962. Pp. xxv, 315. \$6.75.)

APART from Acton, Beard is the only historian in recent times whose political and social thought merits a full-length study. Even here our interest in Beard as a political thinker is parasitic upon our interest in his activities as a historian. In political speculation Beard tended when the going became rough to fall back upon Aristotle, Machiavelli, Marx, the founding fathers, or the instrumentalists; while this is stimulating company to fall back upon, Beard's manner of doing so revealed a lack of originality in his thought. His reluctance to tackle "metaphysical" questions was part of the "revolt against formalism," but it was also an implicit recognition that he could not play the game played by Aristotle and Machiavelli.

Still if Beard could not paint like the masters, he knew what he liked. He had a firm set of values, a changing set of opinions, a restless spirit, and considerable passion. As the scholar-consultant-polemicist, he wrote, lectured, and traveled incessantly. Whether helping to found colleges or fighting to keep William Randolph Hearst from destroying them, whether testifying before a congressional committee or organizing the dairy farmers of Connecticut, he was by most accounts superb. Much of the political thought of such a man was written on the run, as it were, and, as Professor Borning has discovered, it is difficult to do justice to the thought of a man who wanted both to understand the world and to change it.

On the one hand, there is the danger of subjecting Beard's major works to a too-careful exegesis, thus making them do more than they were intended to do, and making Beard appear more ambiguous and inconsistent than in fact he was. On the other hand, there is the danger of giving too much emphasis to his journalistic efforts with the result that Beard emerges as a kind of Walter Lippmann. On the whole, Borning has avoided these dangers and has written a useful chronological summary of Beard's political thought. While his book is not so much a contribution to knowledge or criticism as a systematic presentation of knowledge and criticism scholars already possessed, it is thoughtful and helpful on several points. Thus, for example, he dates Beard's reaction against American participation in World War I earlier than most historians have. Also, while recording changes in Beard's views on the economic factor in politics, he avoids the mistake of attributing to the early Beard a rigid economic determinism or a ridiculous fatalism.

It would, however, be unfortunate if scholars, mindful of all that has been written on Beard and confronted with the present volume, were to conclude that this about wraps it up. We still lack a biography, an answer to the question of what made Beard run. Also we need to know, if we can, whether Beard's political thought provided a necessary stimulus to his historical inquiries or whether his political and social involvements adversely affected his achievements as a historian, or both. Beard came very close to greatness as a historian, and he missed it by a mile as a political thinker. We still lack a comprehensive explanation of why this is so.

Skillman, New Jersey

BURLEIGH TAYLOR WILKINS

SENATOR GERALD P. NYE AND AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS.

By *Wayne S. Cole*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1962. Pp. 293. \$5.75.)

GERALD P. Nye emerged from relative obscurity in 1934, and until the internationalist reaction following Pearl Harbor ended his importance, his activities made headline news. Most of this monograph deals with these eight years during which the North Dakota senator guided and advertised the Munitions Investiga-

tion and was deeply involved in the keep-out-of-war legislation. He was pleading for nonintervention when news of the Japanese attack interrupted his speech, the last one destined to be made under auspices of the America First Committee.

This biography neatly places the "fortunes and misfortunes of American agriculture" into the isolationist complex of the interwar decades. Nye's career is an ideal framework upon which to build this story, for North Dakota was a natural spawning ground for antiwar sentiment. Here one finds the seeds of all major variants of isolationist thought: geographical insularity, Republican politics tinged with a Nonpartisan League flavor, German and Scandinavian island ethnic groups, and a pacifist commitment stemming from religious convictions. Professor Cole traces the rise of this agrarian-progressive isolationism, recounts its triumphs during the Great Depression, and shows how it was overwhelmed by fast-moving international events and domestic developments.

Although some parallel studies are based upon broader manuscript collections, the author has deepened our comprehension of the uncompromising midwestern champions of nonentanglement. The Nye Papers, Cole concedes, proved somewhat disappointing, but thorough craftsmanship has uncovered other lodes of valuable material. Careful pruning of newspapers edited by the young Nye, plus skillful use of press clippings in the possession of the former senator and in the America First Committee Papers have mirrored a wide screen of public opinion. Readers will also be impressed by the authentic tone of the book which has been intensified by Cole's visits to the lonely towns of Nye's salad days and many interviews with the subject of this study. No previous writer has pointed out so clearly the economic aspects of the neutrality legislation. The self-denying part of these laws fell upon munitions makers and big city bankers; agriculture and mining scarcely felt the restrictions imposed. In sharp contrast, the rearmament that began in 1938 cost rural taxpayers money at a time when industrial centers and parts of the country with climates suitable for army camps were given a welcome boost out of the protracted depression. Cole tells the familiar story of Nye's selection to press the Munitions Investigation upon the Senate. We learn, however, that Vice-President John N. Garner did not appoint the North Dakotan as chairman, for the special committee was allowed to choose its own presiding officer.

Roosevelt baiters aside, few writers would have treated Nye quite so gently. The author strains to designate the senator as the heir of an agrarian-oriented philosophy of foreign policy dating from Jefferson and reinvigorated by Bryan. But it does not seem fair to compare Nye with the brilliant and responsive Jefferson, or even with "The Great Commoner" who, at his worst, held tenaciously to a provincial financial heresy and an outdated religious fundamentalism. On the other hand, the list of Nye's egregious errors of judgment is too long for full enumeration. He did as much as any man in the country to popularize the fallacious and naïve theory that we went to war in 1917 at the behest of "a few profit-bent men." Cole agrees that without Nye the unfortunate neutrality laws would not have taken the form they did. As late as 1941, he argued for a constitu-

tional amendment providing for a referendum on peace or war. "There will be no war in Europe," he said shortly before Hitler's legions goose-stepped into Poland. Thereupon, for over two years he insisted that the collapse of the European democracies was immaterial to our own vital interests. He further contended that even if we went to war we could not save England. He insisted, too, that our constitutional form of government could not survive participation in another major struggle.

During the great debate of 1939-1941, the senator did serious injury to his own side. His flirtations with Father Charles E. Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith countervailed the actions of the more sagacious elements in the America First coalition. Although Cole never spells it out, it should be deemed fortunate that "an urban society based on commerce, industry, finance and labor" prevailed over the views held by Senator Nye. Watching from the side lines since 1945, Nye thought Senator McCarthy "on the right track," and he presently hopes for a genuine Republican restoration with the Goldwater faction of the party in command.

State University of New York at Buffalo

SELIG ADLER

CONGRESS AND THE COURT: A CASE STUDY IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL PROCESS. By *Walter F. Murphy*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 307. \$6.95.)

THE persistence of vigorous public controversy over leading decisions of the Warren court and the continued debate among constitutional scholars concerning the role of the Supreme Court in American history make exceptionally timely this well-written study by Walter Murphy of the legislative-judicial conflict of the late 1950's. A series of libertarian decisions (Nelson, Yates, Sweezy, Watkins, Jencks) had aroused a powerful opposition determined to "curb" the Court; allied in the attack were southern segregationists, security-conscious nationalists, police chief and district attorney lobbies, congressmen apprehensive at judicial scrutiny of legislative investigations, and, significantly, an influential sector of anti-New Deal business conservatives, still sullen at the Court switch of 1937 and its subsequent prolabor, proregulation trend. How this formidable cluster of interest groups pushed their "court-clipping" program through key congressional committees and to the verge of enactment is the special contribution of Murphy's book.

Murphy begins with a historical survey of conflicts over the Court's powers from Marshall through the New Deal. This section is the least satisfactory of the book: too thin analytically to have much value to the historian or political scientist, and probably too compendious to illuminate issues for the general reader (though the fact of conflict certainly comes through). But Murphy gets very good as he describes the growth of opposition to the Court in 1955-1957. Using a tight chronological framework, Murphy discusses briefly the important cases, examines group reactions, and finally focuses on Congress. His chapter "Showdown in the

Senate" is a brilliant re-creation of the dramatic climax in August 1958, when principled liberals like Morse, Douglas, and Carroll combined with moderates and manipulators like Majority Leader Johnson to outfox the Right and defeat the anti-Court program by narrow margins and legislative technicalities.

But the Right, as Murphy notes, had been more vocal than its public support warranted; for a Democratic Congress was elected in 1958, and anti-Court agitation quickly diminished. Despite this, the Court retreated in 1959-1960, deciding several important cases (Barenblatt, Uphaus) adversely to the libertarian position. Once again, concludes Murphy, the Court had followed a familiar pattern: judicial advance, confrontation by strong opposition, and retreat—this time, ironically, when the danger was past.

Perhaps so. Yet the five-to-four decisions of the Court in the last few years represent primarily, I think, not insecurity under the pressure of opposition but confirmation that the cases of 1956-1957 were decided on very narrow legal grounds; this enabled judicial technicians like Frankfurter and Harlan, fundamentally hostile to judicial activism, to distinguish readily the new cases from the old and switch over to the conservative position.

This is a good book and at times an exciting one; it complements well Pritchett's more limited, topical survey, *Congress versus the Supreme Court, 1957-1960*.

Long Beach State College

ARNOLD M. PAUL

HISTORIOGRAFÍA DE CUBA. By José Manuel Pérez Cabrera. [Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Publication Number 262, Comisión de Historia, Number 106; Historiografías, Volume VII.] (México, D. F.: the Instituto. 1962. Pp. xv, 394.)

In 1953 the Pan American Institute of Geography and History initiated its historiographical series. The first volume dealt with the historiography of Haiti, and subsequent volumes have covered the British West Indies to 1900, Ecuador, Brazil in the sixteenth century, Paraguay, and Brazil in the seventeenth century. Professor Cabrera has made a worthy contribution to this series with his *Historiografía de Cuba*.

Cabrera's study covers the period from the discovery to 1900. The first two parts of the book are devoted to the chronicles, journals, and studies written before 1800. The last two sections (over 60 per cent of the book) deal with the nineteenth century. In Section Three, Cabrera presents the men (such as Antonio José Valdés, José María Heredia, and Felipe Poey) who laid the foundation for the classical age of colonial historiography. This epoch the author entitles the "Apogeo," and his fourth section devotes considerable attention to José Antonio Saco, Jacobo de la Pezuela, and Pedro José Guiteras. Works by non-Cubans are also given ample consideration.

Although many authors and titles appear in this volume, it never becomes a

dull catalogue. Each section is introduced by a discussion of the major ideas and historiographical tendencies of the period, and each historian is analyzed within this framework. In addition, Cabrera shows the relationship between these historians and the political, economic, and social currents. In his analyses, the author has drawn on other Cuban historians and presents their verdicts on the works considered. He has made special use of the historiographical works of Juan J. Remos, Carlos M. Trelles, and Fernando Ortiz. Thus, the merit of this volume is that it not only presents a most complete analysis of Cuban historiography to 1900, but that it also presents a synthesis of the work of Cuban historians in this field. It is hoped that Cabrera will now perform a similar task for the historiography of the twentieth century.

Historians in the United States, generally speaking, have little knowledge of, or appreciation for, the rich body of historical literature that has emanated from the island of Cuba. Ignorance in this instance has not produced bliss. I hope that this book (and others in the series) will be translated into English so that more students of the history of the United States may grasp the extent of historical study in other parts of the Western Hemisphere.

University of Rhode Island

ROBERT FREEMAN SMITH

VENEZUELA INDEPENDIENTE, 1810-1960. By *Mariano Picón-Salas et al.* [Sesquicentenario de la Independencia de Venezuela.] (Caracas: Fundación Eugenio Mendoza. 1962. Pp. xiv, 742. Bs. 20.)

THIS analytical and interpretive work, covering a century and a half of nationhood, was written by five prominent Venezuelan authors. After a brief, lively introduction on Venezuelan men and books by Mariano Picón-Salas, the nation's leading literary essayist, the rest of the work is divided into sections on political, social, economic, and cultural history.

The political history section, written by historian Augusto Mijares, is polemical in style. The author takes a kind of Ortega y Gasset approach to his nation's political evolution. His mood is hopeful when dealing with Miranda, Bolívar, and Páez, but grows increasingly pessimistic as the nation's political base is broadened. His chapter headings reveal his viewpoint: 1830-1846, "The Deliberative Government"; 1848-1858, "From Demagogy to Despotism"; and 1858-1870, "Anarchy and Devastation." Mijares devotes 143 pages to the years of nationhood, 1810-1888, and only 14 pages to the years 1888-1960. He has nothing at all to say about the emergence of representative democracy in Venezuela since World War II.

In the section on social history, written by novelist-historian Ramón Díaz Sánchez, the approach might best be described as Spenglerian. He deplores the vulgarization of aristocratic urban life and society by so-called modernizing influences, laments the triumph of utilitarians over the classicists in higher learn-

ing, and rather gloomily predicts the inevitable triumph of popular socialism in all of Latin America.

Viewing the well-established reputation of its author, the section on economic history by Professor Eduardo Arcila Farías is somewhat disappointing. Following a brief introduction, the subsequent chapters are brief histories of individual products. There are chapters on such marginal items as tobacco and dyes, yet nothing on cacao, traditionally one of the nation's leading agricultural exports, or iron ore, the nation's second most important product, after petroleum. Further, there is no attempt to integrate discussion of the separate products into a meaningful economic history. His best chapters are the last three: on money and banking, the public treasury, and industry.

In many respects the final section on cultural history is the best balanced and the most complete. Juan Liscano displays here an exceptionally broad range of solid knowledge of customs, folklore, education, music, philosophy, science, history, and literature, and he presents it all in an understandable, orderly, and appealing manner.

All in all, this is a volume rich in ideas, interpretations, and facts; it is exceptionally well written. It is a welcome and generally up-to-date addition to the scanty historical materials dealing with modern Venezuela.

University of New Mexico

EDWIN LIEUWEN

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

BOOKS

General

THE OBSERVATORY IN ISLAM AND ITS PLACE IN THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE OBSERVATORY. By *Aydin Sayili*. [Publications of the Turkish Historical Society, Series VII, Number 38.] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi. 1960. Pp. xi, 472, 7 plates. \$7.50.) The author of this book believes the astronomical observatory, as an institution, to have originated in Islam, and, although we lack so specific a study as this for an observatory elsewhere, it is unlikely that such a study would upset his judgment. The haphazard character of astronomical observation, even in Babylonia, has often been remarked upon. In the medieval period the astronomical observatory was an institution peculiar to Islam. The author presents a chronology of several of the most famous Islamic observatories, plus others of a more uncertain character and yet others that he designates as "observation posts," as lacking sufficient permanence to merit the name observatory. In its profusion of detail on organization and instrumental equipment, partly from unpublished sources, this work puts the history of astronomy in Islam on a new foundation. Upon that foundation the history of Islamic astronomy, as presently understood, looks like a rather incongruous structure. What was done with all these observations? Copernicus is supposed to have known the work of at least some of the Arabic astronomers, but his observational data seems to be mostly from Ptolemy. The author's conclusion that the Islamic observatory often served extra-astronomical purposes (astrological, religious, geodetic) is hardly an adequate answer, for we know that Islam did produce competent theoretical astronomers. Was the European observatory patterned on that of Islam? The author offers little more than the reasonable conjecture that it was. The evidences amassed here of improved observations and of innovations in instruments seem to lead to no conclusion. But perhaps this is an unreasonable criticism to make of a work with a more limited aim than a general history of Islamic astronomy. If these questions are left to others, the present work both points them up and provides indispensable data toward their solution.

Smithsonian Institution

ROBERT MÜLTHAUF

DIE SÄKULARISIERUNG DER UNIVERSALHISTORISCHEN AUFFASSUNG: ZUM WANDEL DES GESCHICHTSDENKENS IM 16. UND 17. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Adalbert Klempt*. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Number 31.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1960. Pp. 188. DM 19.80.) Thirty years ago Carl Becker taught American historians to see in the modern expectation of continuous progress but a secularization of an eschatological hope that had informed the lives of men through long Christian centuries. The transformation of the Christian Heavenly City into that of the eighteenth-century philosophers has usually been ascribed to Enlightenment thinkers of the period 1680 to 1750. Now in this well-documented dissertation Adalbert Klempt shows that the secularizing of Christian historical theory extended, in Protestant countries at least, not from Bossuet to Voltaire, but from Melancthon to Leibniz. The secularization did not involve a mere substituting of a philosophical for a theo-

logical scheme of universal history, as we have thought. Rather, the older system broke down because of its own inadequacy in modern times. Growing knowledge of ancient lines of development other than the Judaeo-Christian, increasing contact with the contemporary non-Christian world, even the nonoccurrence of the Second Coming—all seemed to compound the difficulty of fitting secular history into a chronological scheme drawn from Scripture. Criticized by Bodin and others, the customary division of secular or profane history into four world monarchies gave way, particularly in Christoph Cellarius at the end of the seventeenth century, to the present system of three epochs (ancient, medieval, and modern) and to the practice of dating events B.C. as well as A.D., a tacit admission that it had proved impossible to locate events in time by relating them to a supposed date of creation that no one was able definitely to determine. Explanation of events in terms of theological causation disappeared from secular history, and eventually events even in the long past of the Church were subjected to secular causation. The necessity of bringing the large non-Christian parts of the world into historical relationship with the West led, in the work of Georg Hornius almost a century before the great Enlightenment historians, to a universal history of the world that conceded little to traditional interpretations beyond the assumption of the postdiluvian origin of all present-day peoples.

University of Oregon

LLOYD SORENSON

Ancient and Medieval

DIE KRISE DES RÖMISCHEN REICHES: BERICHT ÜBER DIE FORSCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES 3. JAHRHUNDERTS (193–284 N. CHR.) VON 1939 BIS 1959. By *Gerold Walser* and *Thomas Pekáry*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1962. Pp. xi, 146. DM 32.) In this bibliographical essay, the authors make readily available important items of recent scholarship as material for a coherent history of this period. The *terminus post quem*, 1939, was chosen because of the appearance then of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume XII. But Walser and Pekáry have done much more than bring the latter's bibliographies up to date, for they often judge and weigh the value of works that they cite. There are indexes of modern authors, ancient names, and lemmas, and a concordance with *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume XII. This book is a valuable tool for research.

Emory University

HERBERT W. BENARIO

IMPERIAL LIVES AND LETTERS OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY. Translated by *Theodor E. Mommsen* and *Karl F. Morrison*. With an historical introduction by *Karl F. Morrison*. Edited by *Robert L. Benson*. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, Number 67.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 215. \$5.00.) The publication of this volume, Number 67 in Columbia's "Records of Civilization," is reminiscent of a complementary volume to which the present one does not refer in its bibliography: Number 14, Ephraim Emerton's *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* (1932). The present one, the secular counterpart of the former, contains a translation of Wipo's *The Deeds of Conrad II*, the *Life of the Emperor Henry IV* by an unknown biographer, and the *Letters of Henry IV*. It is the product of the interest and dedication of a noted scholar, the bearer of a distinguished name, Theodor E. Mommsen. Joined to this interest and dedication are those of his student Dr. Karl F. Morrison, and the special editor for this volume, Robert L. Benson. The earlier volume was the product of Emerton's interest in the Hildebrandine period and his being "glad to improve the leisure offered by release from teaching." The two volumes make it pos-

sible for teachers to inject high excitement into their treatment of the investiture struggle. For this opportunity all those involved in the publication of these volumes are owed the gratitude of those who gladly teach and of those students whom they stimulate. It would be helpful if we could really know what has happened to American medieval scholarship in the thirty years elapsing between these two dates, 1932 and 1962. To judge from these two volumes is, for me, and possibly only for me, to wonder whether or not a kind of professional blight has not attacked some of our medieval scholars, a blight that forces them to seek the quarantine of the esoteric and noncontroversial rather than the fundamental argument of the vital issues. What provokes this feeling in my consideration of these volumes is that I can find nothing of great importance or interest coming from the enormous labor of the translation, editing, and publishing of these biographies of Wipo and the author of Henry IV's life. To me the later letters of Henry IV, dealing with the defection of his son Henry, depict a tragedy which, for all its revelation of the decomposing influence of German feudalism upon the monarchy, is much more moving than what the dramatists have done with Henry II. What Emerton set before his younger successors was "to write the history of the Age of Hildebrand, a splendid task still awaiting the labor of an historian who shall be able to rise above the furious contentions of the time and to see them as a dramatic chapter in the story of human liberty." It is very easy to carp, and the carping of scholars often needs careful investigation, but if we are to judge from Morrison's introduction to this volume, the issues involved in the extraordinary competition between two forms of world organization get befogged in such phrases as "pontifical kingship," the "quasihieratic theory of kingship," "royal pontificalism," or "pontifical royalism." Is it to be noted in the future that when the world was possibly about to be destroyed in the competition of two other world systems, medieval scholars in the United States were engrossed in the obscure details of royal coronations?

Brandeis University

EDGAR N. JOHNSON

THE LIFE OF KING EDWARD, WHO RESTS AT WESTMINSTER, ATTRIBUTED TO A MONK OF ST BERTIN. Edited and translated with introduction and notes by *Frank Barlow*. [Medieval Texts.] (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1962. Pp. lxxxii, 81 Latin, 81 English, 85-145. \$8.00.) The one fault of this superb series has been the reticence of its editors. But Professor Barlow is not at all reticent; he has produced what may well be the most thoroughly annotated and introduced English translation of a medieval text in existence. His introduction, notes, and appendixes are learned, cosmopolitan, articulate, informative, sensitive in every direction, in the best sense highly professional, and witty. The *Life*, thus encased, becomes an excellent introduction to eleventh-century European history, to medieval kingship, to medieval verse, to much else besides; very particularly it makes one feel how very feeble one's earlier understanding of the reign of Edward the Confessor has been. The *Life* itself is an interesting but difficult work, composed after the manner of Martianus Capella and Boethius, and, as Barlow points out, of more nearly contemporary writers like Dudo of Saint-Quentin, in alternating passages of prose and verse, full of conflated classical and Biblical learning, intricately and perhaps confusedly applied, for instance, to Harold and Tostig, the sons of Godwin and brothers of Edward's queen, whose twinned greatness, contrasts, and final catastrophic enmity form one of the work's major themes. The Harold-Tostig theme is personal and familial. Edward is glorified in the temporal greatness of his wife Edith's family, recalling the device of the *Encomium Emmae* with its explanation in terms of the *Aeneid* (characteristic of the overt classicism of the eleventh-century "channel school" of historians); but the

personal is firmly tied to a general theme common in medieval histories, the fragile structure of society's security, the constant danger of the emergence of "old chaos." In the collapse of England and his major figures the author turns his attentions:

Amid the many graves, hurt by the death
Of kings, what, Clio, are you writing now?

He turns to the otherworldly success of Edward as saint, and this movement, like the structure of the work, is reminiscent of Boethius' *Consolation*. The *Life* has an important critical history. It was used very peculiarly, and one must say badly, by Marc Bloch, and in a way that helps define the quality of Bloch's crowd pleasing but undeniable greatness as a historian. Bloch and the *Life* together have provoked excellent critical essays from Professor Southern writing at the top of his form, from Miss Heningham, and now from Barlow. All this has not produced a positive identification of the *Life's* author, although we now know a number of things about him. He was very probably either Goscelin or Folcard of Saint-Bertin, surely a Flemish monk who came to England and became connected with Godwin's family, particularly Edith and Tostig, and who started writing, Barlow thinks, in the autumn of 1065. It is quite safe to guarantee the nonmedievalist readers of this *Review* that they will be startled to find this work the sort of thing that an eleventh-century Saint-Omer education and Wilton audience could produce; they ought not deprive their history jaded minds of this surprise. Finally, one must be grateful to Barlow for having translated the *Life's* verse so seriously and well.

University of California, Berkeley

ROBERT BRENTANO

THE NORMAN MONASTERIES AND THEIR ENGLISH POSSESSIONS. By Donald Matthew. [Oxford Historical Series, Second Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 200. \$4.40.) This new monograph in the "Oxford Historical Series," like many of its predecessors, is a pioneer effort. In her book, *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*, published in the series in 1946, Mrs. Chibnall pointed to the need for a study of all the Norman monasteries that had dependencies in England. Donald Matthew is well equipped to meet this need because of his training both at Caen and at Oxford and his familiarity with sources on both sides of the Channel. Not the least of his contributions is his careful analysis of published and manuscript materials, charters, deeds, rent rolls, legal records, and so forth, in the French archives, such as those at Rouen, and in the Public Record Office in London. The author's most difficult but most interesting task was to determine the origin of what were later known as the "alien priories" and the motivation of the donors. Between the Conquest and the reign of John nearly thirty Norman monasteries were holding lands and churches that were scattered over many of the English counties. His study of documents dealing with these endowments led him to believe that the impetus came not from reforming orders or leaders like Lanfranc or Anselm but from devout Norman barons who wanted to show favor to Norman houses to which they were loyal. The object of the endowments, then, was not to found priories in England, as some historians have supposed, but simply to enrich Norman monasteries with lands. As we know, only a few of the endowments became conventual priories; the great majority were estates run by a single monk with a companion, acting as bailiff, or cells of monks. These, the author thinks, may have grown out of the ownership of churches at a period when it was common for the regular clergy to undertake parochial duties. His conclusions, he admits, are controversial because of the scarcity of materials for eleventh-century ecclesiastical history. Later chapters trace the checkered careers of the "alien priories" during the Anglo-French wars. Here the story is more or less familiar, but a new emphasis is placed upon the

changes in royal policy toward aliens. As long as the king remained powerful, aliens were exploited by the crown, but not appropriated. The expulsion of alien monks in 1378 and the case histories of the Norman dependencies before and after the Parliament of Leicester in 1414 seem to indicate not only antiforeign prejudice and social change but also the political weakness of the royal power, which was to lead to the disorders of the fifteenth century. Suppression of the alien monasteries came from the pressure exerted by land-hungry nobles, and at first the nobles seem to have been the chief beneficiaries. In the long run, however, much of the property of the Norman monasteries in England was used to found new religious houses and helped to make possible the endowment of colleges like Eton, King's College, and Winchester. Among the eight documents that Matthew prints in the appendixes is a charter of Edward the Confessor, granting part of the island of Mersea, Essex, to the monks of Saint-Ouen, Rouen, and an interesting memoir of instructions for an agent of Fécamp who visited England in the early fifteenth century. These appendixes and the detailed notes at the end of chapters add to the scholarly value of the essay.

Mount Holyoke College

NORMA ADAMS

L'ABBAYE DE LA CHAISE-DIEU (1043-1518). By *Pierre-Roger Gaussin*. (Paris: Éditions Cujas. 1962. Pp. 760.) In this fine study Gaussin gives a detailed history of La Chaise-Dieu, its congregation of affiliated houses, and its seigneurial rights and possessions; but he also contributes to the history of Auvergne and of Christianity. The book has three main parts: the foundation and the "century of the saints" (1043-1168), stabilization (1168-1306), and finally the "gilded decline" until 1518, after which the abbey was under royal control. The founder, St. Robert of Turlande, was one of many eleventh-century reformers who were not satisfied with Cluny. As the Gregorian reform surpassed Cluny in militancy, several monastic establishments, La Chaise-Dieu among them, surpassed Cluny in austerity and zeal for evangelizing. The *Congrégation Casadéenne*, made up of hundreds of houses, was both the measure and the instrument of the abbey's achievement. In the late Middle Ages, however, the prestige of La Chaise-Dieu declined as it suffered from the ills that afflicted the whole Church. It lost most of its congregation, drawing some worldly consolation from the favor of Avignon popes and from the expansion of its seigneurial possessions. Enriched with photographs, tables, maps, indexes, and a critical bibliography, this book provides a valuable resource for students of medieval Europe.

Fairfield, Iowa

JOHN C. MOORE

REGALIAN RIGHT IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By *Margaret Howell*. [University of London Historical Studies, Number 9.] (London: University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1962. Pp. xv, 264. \$6.75.) Regalian right, the claim of kings to appropriate the revenues and patronage of a vacant bishopric or abbey, is a topic important for medieval administrative, constitutional, and ecclesiastical history. It is helpful, therefore, to have a systematic study of the origin and development of the institution in England. According to Dr. Howell, regalian right was not invented by William Rufus or his minister Ranulf Flambard as some contemporaries suggested, but was rooted in the practice of the pre-Conquest dukes of Normandy. Henry I's undertaking at the beginning of his reign not to "take anything from the demesne of a church" on the death of its bishop may be interpreted as a promise not to impose tallages rather than as a renunciation of the regalian right to the normal revenues of the see. Certainly he continued to exercise the right in practice. Regalian right was renounced by Stephen, but was explicitly reasserted by Henry II. When Henry II imposed general tallages, moreover, he taxed the vacant bishoprics like his own de-

mesne lands. John carried the process a step further and regularly tallaged every vacant bishopric at least once whether or not a general tallage was imposed during the vacancy. At the end of the thirteenth century such a tax was still collected under the name of a "recognition." During the fourteenth century the exercise of regalian right continued to provide a significant element in the royal revenue, a useful bargaining counter in dealings with the pope, and an occasional reminder of the universality of royal jurisdiction in such great ecclesiastical immunities as those of Ely and Durham. Besides a historical outline of the practices of successive kings, the book provides much interesting information on the details of financial administration both in the dioceses and in the accounting departments of the central government. It is a competent and useful work.

Cornell University

BRIAN TIERNEY

THE CRUSADES: A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY. By *James A. Brundage*. (Milwaukee, Wis.: Marquette University Press. 1962. Pp. 318. \$6.50.) Brundage originally intended to assemble "a group of readings which would serve as an introduction both to the history of the Crusading movement itself and to the major chroniclers and other contemporary Western historians whose narratives underlie all our fundamental knowledge of the Crusades." Because some of the texts were not available in English and the English translations of others were not satisfactory, the author undertook to translate a major part of selected materials. Furthermore, since at the time of his undertaking "there was no brief, single-volume survey of the Crusades available in English," the author decided "to weave the documents together with a connecting narrative account of the Crusades for the reader's benefit." In such a way his present contribution has acquired the character of a documentary survey of the history of the crusades. In spite of the great amount of work invested in his project, this book constitutes an anachronism. Considering the present stage of studies of the history of the crusades it is methodologically wrong to assemble a group of relevant readings without including Oriental source materials. Furthermore, whether for didactic or heuristic purposes, one should not present a collection of translated texts without their version in original languages. Finally, as Brundage's bibliography attests, there exist by now two major works in English, surveying the history of the crusades in considerable depth and breadth. That the author's translation of the selected documents is not always reliable can be demonstrated by the example of the few first documents presented in his contribution. He translates "*Archiepiscopus Moguntiacensis*" as "Archbishop of Metz," instead of Mainz; he uses the term "sheik" with reference to the leader of Arab attackers, although no such specific social term occurs in the Latin text. The connecting narrative account, though interesting and functionally correct, is not innocent of several factual misstatements. Brundage also included a selective bibliography. Whatever the book's merits, one must take exception to the form in which it is presented. Without trying hard, I was able to count some twenty-five misprints. On the other hand, the three useful indexes are neatly organized and presented.

University of Michigan

ANDREW S. EHRENKREUTZ

ESTUDOS HISTÓRICOS. Part 2. By *Conde de Tovar*. [Subsídios para a História Portuguesa, Volume VI.] (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História. 1961. Pp. 301.) In this handsomely printed volume the Lisbon Academy of History continues to reprint the historical papers published in various Portuguese journals by one of its founding members, the late Pedro Lemos de Tovar. The five titles here collected originally appeared between 1932 and 1937; of the lot only two can properly be regarded as still

useful. One is the study, far too ambitiously entitled "Portugal e Veneza na Idade Média," which edits six documents from the Torre do Tombo and accompanies these with a series of short commentaries upon their text and certain other pertinent topics. The other is the monograph dealing with twelfth- and thirteenth-century Portuguese sphragistics, where the author examines 143 royal charters from the reigns of Sancho I, Afonso II, and Sancho II. With its six plates of reproductions and discerning remarks not only upon seals as such but upon other aspects of chancery practice as well, this remains of evident value, even though at points it requires revision in the light of E. A. Reuter's *Chancelarias medievais portuguesas* and, especially, of the preface to the first volume of *Régios* in Rui de Azevedo's *Documentos medievais portugueses*. As for the other three papers, their resurrection is difficult to justify on other than sentimental grounds. The lengthy description of the Archivio di Stato of Venice, which the author intended to search for materials on medieval Luso-Venetian relations, but apparently was never able, remains a self-confessed rehash of Baschet and Rawdon Brown. The slight analysis of the economic consequences of the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, unlike its subject, fails to break new ground. Lastly, the survey of medieval Leonese-Castilian historiography, unimpressive as such, is largely outdated after a quarter-century of research in this field. In short, it appears that, rather than a pious reprinting of all the Count of Tovar's numerous writings, a discriminating selection, subjected to editorial annotation to bring them into line with subsequent scholarship, might do his memory more genuine service.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

LYONS 1473-1503: THE BEGINNINGS OF COSMOPOLITANISM. By *James B. Wadsworth*. [Publication Number 73.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1962. Pp. xiii, 211. \$5.00 postpaid.) This book examines the intellectual and cultural atmosphere of Lyons before that city was clearly involved with the movements of the Renaissance. It begins in 1473, a date that marks both the introduction of printing into Lyons and its clear recovery after the Hundred Years' War; it ends with the death of Pierre II de Bourbon, whose patronage seems to have had some importance for literature and the arts in the city. In his examination of this period the author has accumulated an impressive mass of detail, chiefly bibliographical and biographical; the pedagogue Josse Badius and the literary physician Symphorien Champier emerge as his protagonists. He concludes that outsiders who settled in Lyons were primarily responsible for its cultural life, but that the "cosmopolitanism" of the city owed only a superficial debt to Italy. Closer in spirit to Germany and Flanders than to the south, Lyons during these years reminds us more of the waning of the Middle Ages than of the Renaissance. This book is, however, an essay in literary history, not a balanced account of Lyons rooted in systematic political and social analysis; the author is more effective in displaying the didactic and conservative piety of Symphorien Champier, or in demonstrating the connections between Jean Lemaire de Belges and the Bourbons, than in general statement about a community destined for future prominence.

University of California, Berkeley

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

Modern

UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

CLIFFORD LETTERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by *A. G. Dickens*. [Publications of the Surtees Society, Volume CLXXII.] (Durham: Andrews and Company; London: Bernard Quaritch for the Society. 1962. Pp. 158.) Here are forty-

four letters to or about a great North Country family, the house of Clifford, in the early Tudor period. The letters, most of them from the reign of Henry VIII, deal with the continuing feuds and occasional cooperation of the border families, with the growing vigilance of the Tudor government in the north, with such personal concerns as the plight of a widow or the pluck of a young wife stranded in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and, most importantly, with ecclesiastical patronage. Clerical letters to the colorful "Shepherd Lord," Henry, tenth Lord Clifford, and to his son, the first Earl of Cumberland, make up most of this correspondence. Their tone suggests an unstrained if unsentimental relationship between churchmen, especially monastic heads, and their northern patrons. We find, on the eve of the Reformation, a reminder to the lord that the rent is overdue, a report on building operations ("Goddess warke and yours"), a refusal to admit the Clifford chaplain into an overcrowded order, an urgent plea to the lord, then ailing, that "for the love of God" he provide promptly for the monastery since "your Lordship doith know the unstableness of this worlde. . . ." Wolsey scholars will enjoy his two letters, one of which, a request for timber, ends characteristically: "Whereby ye shall not oonlie do [a] thing right acceptable unto God, but also unto me right singuler pleasor. . . ." Letters so miscellaneous offer little, perhaps, beyond fresh illustrations of now-familiar themes. But Mr. Dickens has done his job thoroughly; his introduction and notes give the fullest published account of the early Cliffords. Hopefully, the more significant of the family papers, from which these letters have long been separated, will someday rejoin them in print, becoming the basis for a comprehensive study of this influential Tudor house.

Vassar College

JOAN K. KINNAIRD

A PLAIN PATHWAY TO PLANTATIONS (1624). By Richard Eburne. Edited by Louis B. Wright. [Folger Documents of Tudor and Stuart Civilization.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library. 1962. Pp. xxxiv, 154. \$3.50.) This volume is one of the first in a valuable new series undertaken by the Folger Shakespeare Library. It, like two others that have already been edited by Louis B. Wright and the late Conyers Read, makes available to scholars and graduate students at a reasonable price and in an attractive format inaccessible and sometimes neglected sources fundamental to an understanding of Tudor and Stuart life. As it grows, the series will contain both reprints of rare books and editions of hitherto unpublished manuscripts. Spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are in this volume, as they will be in most of the rest of the series, modernized. Eburne's *Plain Pathway to Plantations* is a useful and important addition to this series. Appearing at a most significant moment, shortly after the publication of several works on the possibility of making a permanent English settlement in Newfoundland and just a year before the issue of *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), it has nevertheless been little known and seldom used. Eburne is not noted in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and his book is not listed in Godfrey Davies' *Bibliography of British History* or mentioned in the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*. Only Miss E. G. R. Taylor and Wright have heretofore given it any attention, and only the latter has analyzed it extensively in his *Religion and Empire* (1943). Yet the work contains a more complete and comprehensive justification for the development of an empire than any other book published before or within a generation thereafter. In a peculiarly English way it stresses the need for colonies of settlement and outlines ways for making such undertakings successful. It might well repay a comparative study that would contrast English theories of empire with those current simultaneously on the Continent. Wright introduces Eburne's text with an interesting essay that puts the tract in the context of other works on plantations.

University of California, Los Angeles

MARK H. CURTIS

MEN OF IRON: THE CROWLEYS IN THE EARLY IRON INDUSTRY. By *M. W. Flinn*. [Edinburgh University Publications: History, Philosophy and Economics, Number 14.] (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1962. Pp. xii, 270. \$8.75.) It is almost a pity to attempt the assessment of a book such as this one within the all too-narrow confines of a review notice. The Crowleys were one of the great English dynasties of ironmasters and purveyors who contributed significantly to the economic expansion of Britain during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. M. W. Flinn has given us a richly detailed but perceptively thoughtful picture of this family and its fortunes from the founding of the first Crowley nail-making factory at Sunderland in the mid-1680's until the liquidation of the business in 1863. Not only were the Crowleys an extraordinary family, but their history dissolves away any easy generalizations about the men who first created Britain's industrial wealth. Though Quaker in origin, the most successful of the Crowleys, Ambrose Crowley III, became a High-churchman and Tory with strong Jacobite leanings who created an iron manufacturing complex unrivaled in the eighteenth century. At the same time he displayed the best virtues of the great entrepreneur: hard-working, honest, conscientious, expecting those who worked with him to be the same. Nor was he the hard-fisted taskmaster we usually think of as typical of the period, for he antedated many of Robert Owen's attitudes and innovations by several generations. Indeed, so strong was the tradition of employee welfare within the Crowley firm that it did not have to contend with any serious labor discontent until after the Napoleonic Wars and only then as a consequence of the antipathies engendered by the existing climate of opinion which broke the ties of economic interest that had for so long united labor and management. By skillful management and despite the short careers of Ambrose III's immediate descendants, the Crowley firm prospered. In delineating its history Flinn, with the skill of an experienced economic historian, calls our attention to those things we would most like to know: how the family capital was first accumulated, diversified, and augmented; what the processes of manufacturing were; and how products were marketed. Equally important, he tells us something about the methods by which the family preserved its inheritance and of the ways in which chance intervened to effect changes that could not be foreseen. This book is a significant contribution to economic and social history.

Barnard College

SIDNEY A. BURRELL

ENGLISH COUNTRY LIFE, 1780-1830. By *E. W. Bovill*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 266. \$7.00.) Bovill has a feeling for his period and has made the England of that day seem real as few other writers have done. He weaves a plaid, dark and light but always colorful. Captain Swing gets his chapter, as do enclosures and rural pauperism, painful subjects that have always been difficult to understand if we credit the governing classes with normal human nature; the daily lives, especially the travel and sport, of the upper classes also receive attention. Somehow, bringing the absorbing topics of partridge shooting, post chaises, carriages, horses, and fox hunting together in the same volume with the sufferings of the agricultural laborer, whether pauper or poacher, helps us to grasp the smugness and callousness of the age. Gentlemen were so interested in their own bright world and received so much hearty well-wishing from their inferiors that they could not easily appreciate the fact that all was not well. Bovill's method compels selectivity, but inaccuracies are few. The statement of the law of trespass is inexact. Unless the trespasser had been "warned off," the prosecutor received "no more costs than damages," and the likelihood of farthing verdicts was decisive. A more serious question remains unsolved. Bovill accepts at face value the many accounts of the wretched state of roads before they became turnpikes,

but does not adequately account for the constant traveling up to town and back (the annual "migration") and from country house to country house by gentlemen and their families who were certainly not prepared to endure great discomfort, much as they might complain. This is not a mere matter of distinguishing between the earlier and later periods, as seems to be especially suggested on page 137. Such minor queries aside, the book succeeds very well and should serve as a corrective to some of our more sociologically oriented accounts.

Brown University

CHESTER H. KIRBY

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY: BANKER, REFORMER, AND QUAKER. By *David E. Swift*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1962. Pp. xvii, 304. \$6.50.) Among the English Dissenters, the Quakers have been the most fortunate in finding historians willing to tell their distinctive story. In the United States the virile educational tradition of the Society of Friends has continued to challenge historians to review and elucidate their benevolent activities in this country as well as in England. The author of this useful biography has done more than write a good life of Gurney; he has contributed largely to a better understanding of the Evangelical Quakers, who did so much to promote humanitarian reform in England during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The John Gurney family of Norwich was second only to the John Thornton family of Clapham in the promotion of benevolent institutions. The Gurney home at Norwich, "Earlham Hall," like the Thornton home at Clapham, was the meeting place for the Evangelicals. Of the eleven Gurney children who lived to maturity, Joseph John, the banker and Quaker minister, was the most important leader of the Evangelical Quakers, although his sister, Elizabeth Fry, won greater public acclaim as a prison reformer. The biography of Joseph John clearly indicates the broad comity that existed among the Evangelicals, whether Anglicans or Dissenters. The new spirit of comity lessened somewhat the peculiar social practices of the Quakers, which had so long set them apart as a strict sect, and enabled them to participate more freely in a larger religious community. The broader tolerance, for example, allowed five of the Gurney sisters to join the Church of England, while two sisters remained active Quaker ministers. More important than the comity that permitted the intermarriage of Quakers and Anglicans was the common religious faith that enabled the Dissenters and Anglicans to cooperate in promoting humanitarian reform and in establishing benevolent institutions. Although Gurney was the leader of the religious revival among the Society of Friends, he did not abandon the early Quakers' testimony for simplicity of dress and speech and their preference for silence as a basis of worship. The traditional Quaker preference for frugality over self-indulgence and for plainness over ostentation gave him an uneasy conscience as he grew richer and raised his standard of living. These are the principal themes that Swift propounds clearly and thoroughly.

Lehigh University

R. G. COWHERD

GEORGE GROTE: A BIOGRAPHY. By *M. L. Clarke*. (London: University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1962. Pp. x, 196. \$5.60.) Professor M. L. Clarke has managed to write a biography of George Grote (1794-1871) without letting the clever and lively Harriet Lewin Grote dominate his portrait of "the Historian," as she proudly called her husband. Clarke is thorough in his scholarship, sensible in his judgments, and most interesting when he quotes Mrs. Grote. His book does not supplant the biographical works by Mrs. Grote and other members of the Grote circle, but he gives a good brief account of Grote's personality and career for the modern reader. The unpublished sources add little that is new,

though there are some interesting letters from the Francis Place Papers for the Reform Bill days, when the banker Grote was too timid a reformer to suit Place. Grote failed as a politician and as a possible leader of the Radicals in Parliament in the 1830's because he "lacked the qualities that make for success in politics." He was pre-eminently a scholar, so that the author calls his parliamentary career "an irrelevant interlude." The book's chief interest is as a study of a great historian who was a thoroughgoing philosophical radical, James Mill's most faithful disciple. In a useful chapter on the *History of Greece*, Clarke judges it "the most distinguished example of Benthamite historiography." In his appreciation of Greek democracy as in his rigid advocacy of secular education in University College, London, Grote expressed the ideas of James Mill. Clarke clearly shows the overwhelming influence of James Mill on Grote's thought and points out the areas of agreement and disagreement between Grote and John Stuart Mill. As Mrs. Grote realized, Grote's life is "the history of a mind," and this biography is an interesting, though not profound, contribution to nineteenth-century intellectual history.

Ripon College

JOHN F. GLASER

THE INDUSTRIES OF LONDON SINCE 1861. By P. G. Hall. (New York: Hillary House. 1962. Pp. 192. \$2.50.) Because of its comparative lack of heavy industry, modern London as an industrial center has been largely neglected by economic historians. This economic geography at least partially rectifies that omission. In surveying the industrial geography of London, Hall's approach is historical. He first describes the older industries, clothing and furniture manufacture and printing, beginning with the year 1861. He chooses this date because of a paucity of earlier statistical material. His explanations for the location of these industries in London revolve about the heavy concentration of population there. The second part of the book is devoted to the newer industries, machine tools, electrical equipment, and the like. Here Hall begins with the year 1918, and again the explanations for their location near the city involve population as well as prestige factors. This volume is of value to the economic historian not only because it draws attention to London as a manufacturing city, but also because it clearly resolves many of the problems that must be encountered when explaining industrial location. It points to a need for further detailed studies of the history of specific London industries.

University of South Carolina

CHARLES W. COOLIDGE

FRIEDRICH ENGELS UND DIE BRITISCHE SOZIALISTISCHE BEWEGUNG, 1881-1895. By Siegfried Büniger. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für allgemeine Geschichte an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Number 6.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1962. Pp. 242. DM 14.50.) Büniger's dissertation reviews the evolution of British socialism from 1881 to 1895 and describes Engels' reaction to that evolution. The author would have us believe that it was their failure to ground themselves thoroughly in the fundamentals of Marxist dogma, as Engels urged (in letters addressed mostly to correspondents in Germany!), that condemned British socialists to frustration and failure. As a contribution to English history, the book offers nothing new and is marred by egregious factual confusions. Thus, for example, the author misinterprets the Irish demand for Home Rule as a demand for independence; he treats the "Great Depression" of the 1880's as if it were economically equivalent to the Great Depression of the 1930's; and he is unaware of the Fabian Society's 1893 manifesto urging Trades Union Congress sponsorship of labor candidates unattached to the Liberal party organization. In spite of these errors, the author has succeeded in providing a significant addition to the biographical literature on Engels. He has examined all Engels' published writings and much unpublished correspondence and ferreted out every comment, casual or otherwise, relative to British poli-

tics and politicians. The narrative makes it clear that, in spite of Engels' refusal, as leader of an international movement, to participate actively in any particular national branch of that movement, he nevertheless took an active interest in the struggles of his island colleagues. Clearly, Engels was as perplexed by the aberrations of British socialists as is his biographer. The reforming fervor generated by middle-class Nonconformist churches confuses them both. They cannot comprehend the British preference for gradualist and pragmatic methods. Engels always tended to attribute such peculiarities to personal wickedness and feuded with his English critics in a manner that can only be described as petty, jealous, and shortsighted. His closest associate among the British socialists was Edward Aveling, a weak reed indeed. Engels persisted in backing his friend and in insisting other socialists do likewise, even after Aveling's financial and sexual indiscretions had totally discredited him, which may account for the ILP's not being represented at Engels' funeral and for only one SDF official's attending. Bünger's study (which, incidentally, suffers badly from the lack of an adequate index) does not, in spite of the author, enhance the stature of its hero.

College of Wooster

DANIEL F. CALHOUN

EUROPE

NAPOLEON AND HIS BRITISH CAPTIVES. By *Michael Lewis*. (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1962. Pp. 317. 42s.) Professor Michael Lewis has conceived the excellent idea of devoting an entire book to the lot of British prisoners during the First Empire. Until now the subject has been treated fragmentarily. For his purpose he has engaged in immense research, but has it been in a purely impartial and objective spirit? I would not swear to it. In the eyes of this good Englishman, Napoleon remains a *bête noire*. In addition he makes him or his officials responsible for all the cruelties that customarily accompany the lot of prisoners. He reproaches Napoleon, by way of example, with having treated civilians as prisoners of war and of having established concentration camps. Whether or not he wears a uniform, the enemy remains an enemy. This principle is now universally admitted. Once more Napoleon was a century ahead. This said, one must praise the seriousness and breadth of the inquiry. In the recollections of the prisoners, from which he draws his materials, he knows how, with humor, to judge exaggeration and boasting. He surveys carefully all the camps in which British prisoners were held, and in a sense he interrogates them as a judge. He has even attempted to count the prisoners. The number in 1814, according to his calculations, reached about 16,000, compared to 120,000 Frenchmen detained in England. He maintains, as a result, that it was easier for the imperial military authorities to care for the British prisoners than for Britain to take care of the French. But does that justify the use of the frightful convict ships? The life of British officers, especially at Verdun, little resembled that of the soldiers and sailors of Napoleon at Norman Cross or Dartmoor. At Verdun Englishmen, at least those with well-filled purses, were able to stay in town, establish gambling clubs, take part in plays. Doubtless the commandant at Verdun was a "fricoteur." But can one be indignant about the conduct of a general named Wirion when one belongs to the nation that produced Hudson Lowe?

Paris, France

FLEURIOT DE LANGLE

GÈNES ET LA FRANCE DANS LA DEUXIÈME MOITIÉ DU XVIII^e SIÈCLE (1748-1797). By *René Boudard*. [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Recherches méditerranéennes, Études, Number 4.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1962. Pp. 539.) L'ORGANISATION DE L'UNIVERSITÉ ET DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE DANS

L'ACADÉMIE IMPÉRIALE DE GÈNES ENTRE 1805 ET 1814. By *René Boudard*. [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Recherches méditerranéennes, Documents, Number 3.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1962. Pp. 153.) René Boudard has written two very fine books about the interrelations of Genoa and France during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth. The narrative-description in both works is nourished by long association with archival documents and with travel and memoir literature. From the first book, *Gênes et la France*, it is apparent that relations between the two countries proceeded in the three areas of diplomatic interchange, the penetration of educated Genoese society by French books and ideas, and the economic exchange of products, technological processes, and artisans. Through the decades Genoa was gradually swung into the orbit of French diplomacy and thought. The climax came in 1797 when the narrow and selfish Genoese patriciate, its influence already undermined by the dissemination of French ideas, was overthrown by pro-French revolutionary groups that were aided and abetted by the French government. It followed, almost inevitably it would seem, that when Napoleon was reorganizing the French educational system he would reorganize that of Genoa, by founding a university and decreeing the foundation of secondary schools. The story Boudard tells is significant, less for the importance of its effects than for the representative and illustrative quality of its details. Economic, diplomatic, intellectual, and cultural historians will find useful materials in these books.

Duke University

HAROLD T. PARKER

LA GUERRA DEL 1859 NEI RAPPORTI TRA LA FRANCIA E L'EUROPA. Third Series, 1848-1860. Volume V. Edited by *Armando Saitta*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814-1860. Part 3, Rapporti tra Stati Europei. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1962. Pp. 1644-2102. L. 3,500.) LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA LO STATO PONTIFICIO E LA FRANCIA. Second Series, 1830-1848. Volume I, 4 GENNAIO 1830-28 LUGLIO 1831. Edited by *Giuliano Procacci*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani, 1814-1860. Part 1, Documenti Italiani. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1962. Pp. xiv, 359. L. 3,500.) The fifth volume of the series on *La Guerra del 1859* is a sort of compilation of miscellanea (for a review of the other volumes, see *AHR*, LXVII [Apr. 1962], 690), containing material from the *Moniteur universel* and other French papers; additional French correspondence with Austria, Russia, Serbia, the United Principalities (Rumania), Denmark, Sweden, and some small German states; and an index for the whole series. And yet there are also two items of capital importance. The appended correspondence with Russia contains 132 pages of the full texts of Prince Napoleon's and La Roncière le Noury's negotiations and conversations leading to the Franco-Russian treaty of 1859. Much of this is new, and other items have only been published in partial extracts. The last appendix contains a re-editing of the correspondence of Napoleon III and Francis Joseph concerning the Villafranca agreement. One previously unpublished item of significance, however, is a letter from Napoleon III to Prince Alexander of Hesse (Francis Joseph's special envoy) in which for once the French Emperor lays bare his thoughts even to the extent of a threat to reveal the negotiations to Prussia if they fail. Among Saitta's selections will also be found considerable material dealing with Walewski, Gorchakov, Alexander II, Buol, and Beust. While Saitta was completing his series, Procacci was initiating the first volume of his second series on the papal correspondence with the Paris nuncios (1830 to July 1831). Here is a generous selection of 175 documents from the Vatican Secret Archives for the very

important period of the revolutions of 1830. Among the important episodes seen through the eyes of the papal nuncios and the cardinal secretaries of state are Charles X's quarrel with his legislature, the Algerian expedition, the French election of 1830, the July Revolution, the recognition of the Orleans monarchy, the French Church and the new regime, the Belgian revolution, the death of Pius VIII, the election of Gregory XVI, the uprisings in the Romagna, and the Austrian occupation of the Romagna. Much new information is also furnished for the study of such individuals as Popes Pius VIII and Gregory XVI, Cardinals Lambruschini, Albani, and Bernetti, French rulers Charles X and Louis Philippe, and such important figures as Molé, Sébastiani, Périer, La Fayette, Archbishop de Quelen of Paris, Sainte Aulaire, and Apponyi. Procacci has adhered to the fine editorial standards of all the volumes of the *Istituto Storico Italiano* and has done an especially remarkable work of gathering dispatches from many scattered files to complete the documentation. As usual there are a chronological list of documents with adequate summaries and a very helpful index.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

NEUTRALITÄT ODER ALLIANZ: DEUTSCHLANDS BEZIEHUNGEN ZU SCHWEDEN IN DEN ANFANGSJAHREN DES ERSTEN WELTKRIEGES. By *W. M. Carlgren*. [Stockholm Studies in History, Number 6.] (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 1962. Pp. 276. Kr. 30.) W. M. Carlgren has presented here a solid and interesting study of the diplomatic relationships between Sweden and Germany in late 1914 and in 1915. The failure of Prince Max of Baden's negotiations in Stockholm in November 1915 ended this year of tentatives for a Swedish-German alliance. Carlgren's book illuminates a not often studied, although admittedly peripheral, aspect of wartime diplomacy. It is all the more welcome because, in a language more accessible to scholars than Swedish, he combines German and Austrian materials with a view from a Swedish vantage point that includes some consideration of the interaction between Swedish domestic and foreign policies. He has used the Swedish Foreign Office and other archives, the German Foreign Office papers, and, to a lesser extent, Austro-Hungarian, Finnish, Badenian, and Bavarian archives. Of especial interest are Carlgren's accounts of the first German proposal of an alliance in May 1915, the negotiations during the summer, and Prince Max's conversations in Stockholm in mid-November. The Germans, although briefly hopeful of an alliance that might be useful, never could give it more than secondary attention. In Sweden, the strong pro-German group led by Queen Victoria and Count Taube, the minister to Berlin, pushed the possible alliance and the advantages in the Baltic with relationship to Finland and Russia that might result from it, but the Prime Minister, Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, and the Foreign Minister, K. A. Wallenberg, were never very enthusiastic about it. For reasons of tradition, trade, and security, they wanted Sweden to keep its policy of neutrality.

Georgetown University

THOMAS T. HELDE

LA REGGENZA DI MARIA DE' MEDICI. By *Salvo Mastellone*. Preface by *Roland Mousnier*. [Biblioteca di cultura contemporanea, Number 76.] (Florence: Casa Editrice G. D'Anna. 1962. Pp. xiv, 244. L. 1,500.) Any book that can help one to find his way through the confused decade of the 1610's in France should be welcome. Salvo Mastellone, hitherto known for his work in nineteenth-century history, has provided a most valuable study. It is not, as the title might seem to suggest, a comprehensive history of the regency, but the monographs that make up the chapters are interrelated, highly significant, and full of implications for the period. There is a sensitive analysis of the *officier* class; the whole current of *gallicanisme parlementaire* is illuminated; Villeroy, minister of both Henry IV and Marie de Medici, is given an overdue reappraisal; and

the conflicting interests at the Estates-General of 1614, where the Third Estate was represented chiefly by *officiers*, are delineated with a sure hand. One begins to suspect that, given the alternatives, Marie de Medici did not do so badly. Mastellone shows an admirable familiarity with the sources, having utilized not only many contemporary published works but also manuscripts from collections at Paris and Florence. He has produced an important work, another fine example of *post-bellum* Italian historical scholarship.

University of Texas

R. DAVIS BITTON

CORRESPONDANCE SECRÈTE DU COMTE DE BROGLIE AVEC LOUIS XV (1756-1774). Volume II (1767-1774). Edited by *Didier Ozanam* and *Michel Antoine*. [Série antérieure à 1789.] (Paris: C. Klincksieck for the Société de l'Histoire de France. 1961. Pp. xii, 536. 40 fr.) Volume I of this correspondence [*AHR*, LXIII (Oct. 1957), 192] documented Broglie's role in the King's Secret through 1766. This volume concludes the fantastic story of his management of this secret diplomatic organization, designed to salvage something from France's precipitous mid-century diplomatic decline. Not much was or could be done, and this volume offers little of interest to the diplomatic historian. But the organization continued, becoming more and more entangled in its paper work, its burgeoning bureaucratic organization—an amusing eighteenth-century illustration of Parkinson's Law—and the brutal political rivalries at court which came to be Broglie's chief concern. Only the King's death brought it all to an end.

University of Arkansas

GORDON McNEIL

LE GÉNÉRAL DUPUY ET SA CORRESPONDANCE (1792-1798). By *Claude Petitfrère*. Foreword by *Jacques Godechot*. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Révolutionnaire, Third Series, Number 1.] (Paris: Société des Études Robespierriennes. [1962.] Pp. 228.) Dupuy, son of a Toulouse baker, joined the national guard in 1789 and became a militant Jacobin. Elected lieutenant colonel, he was mobilized with the volunteers of 1792, given battalion command, and promoted to brigadier general. The royalism of his commanding general compromised him. After several months in detention he was cleared of treason, but convicted of counterrevolutionary utterances, specifically against Marat. Released after Thermidor, he joined the Army of Italy in 1795, distinguished himself, accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, commanded the occupation troops at Cairo, and died there of wounds received in a street fight against Egyptian insurrectionists. This brief and scrupulous biography is based on documents in the Toulouse archives. The author reproduces, with excellent notes and commentaries, thirty-seven letters that Dupuy wrote between July 1792 and October 1798. As Godechot observes in his introduction, the study shows how the experiences of this young republican idealist—victory, conquest, *esprit de corps*, distrust of civilian politics, reverence for Bonaparte—swept him on toward the *coup d'état* of Brumaire, which he would have approved if he had lived to see it. This is a case study of Bonapartism in the making and a wonderful glimpse into the realities of revolution at Toulouse.

University of North Carolina

GEORGE V. TAYLOR

LES ÉGLISES RÉFORMÉES EN FRANCE (1800-1830). By *Daniel Robert*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1961. Pp. xxxi, 632. 25 fr.) In the tradition of French doctoral scholarship Daniel Robert has produced a detailed study of the Reformed Church in France during the early nineteenth century, giving evidence of a thorough perusal of documents in both public and private collections. The volume looks at this church as a national institution, thus synthesizing the research of many studies of the church at the local level. The traditional independence of the congregations and the

lack of a national synod during this time have handicapped historians with this approach. This was an important age for the Protestant faith in France since the now officially respectable Reformed Church had to meet the novelty of new governmental support and face the loss of prestige that came from no longer representing a persecuted minority. Robert divides his history into two parts at 1815, discussing in each the organization and religious life of the Reformed Church, including a breakdown of activities and personnel in the consistories in each department. Attention is given to the new theological school at Montauban and to foreign influences on the Church. Particularly helpful is the clear study of state-church relations resulting in the *Articles Organiques des Cultes Protestantes* in 1802. The author minimizes the effects of the White Terror on the Protestants, except for the temporary disturbance in Gard. Robert appears often confined to official documents, and his wise refusal to read between the lines in his sources sometimes leads to presenting a rather unexciting and unimaginative Reformed Church, rarely possessing dynamic qualities. The discussion of the Protestant religious revival during the Restoration is significant and leads one to wish the author had related this more to the over-all post-Napoleonic religious reawakening in France and Europe. After Robert there seems little left to be said about the French Reformed Church from the Revolution to the July Monarchy; one awaits his forthcoming book of documents and hopes he continues his research into the mid-century.

DePauw University

JOHN J. BAUGHMAN

THE RIGHT IN FRANCE, 1890-1919: THREE STUDIES. Edited by *David Shapiro*. [St Anthony's Papers, Number 13.] (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1962. Pp. 144. \$3.75.) The title of this book is misleading. The reader hoping for a new synthesis or study of the subject will be disappointed, and I, in particular, regret the way in which extraparlimentary activities have been left out of the account. Students of French politics, however, will find much useful information in the three papers it contains and in the appended "Checklist of Printed Biographical Material on the Parliamentarians of the Third Republic." David Shapiro, compiler of the check list and editor of the volume, gives us a study of "The Ralliement in the Politics of the 1890's," focused on the parliamentary and electoral fortunes of the ralliés. Following this, a most interesting essay by D. R. Watson, "The Nationalist Movement in Paris, 1900-1906," shows that the nationalism of 1900, appealing to Center and Right, was not a reincarnation of Boulangism, which had united the two extremes against the Center. By 1900 the development of Socialist organization prevented a union of the discontented of Left and Right, such as Boulangism had briefly managed. This time the function of Nationalists was different. They built an ideological bridge over which sections of the middle class, lower middle class, and unorganized workers could cross to a republican Right which no longer threatened the existing order, but promised to defend it against collectivism and its own corruption. When the troops had crossed, however, and Paris had been "clearly divided politically on social and economic lines," the bridge was no longer needed, and nationalism faded away, its representatives becoming indistinguishable from the rest of the Right. The outcome appears incidentally in Malcolm Anderson's essay on "The Right and the Social Question in Parliament, 1905-1919," which is actually a study of how various sections of the Right behaved and how, without relinquishing their dinosaur prejudices, they became increasingly governmental.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGEN WEBER

REGIERUNGSBILDUNG UND REGIERUNGSKRISEN IN DER VERFAS-
SUNGSENTWICKLUNG DER FRANZÖSISCHEN VIERTEN REPUBLIK. By *Erich Haniel*. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1961. Pp. vi, 141. DM 15.30.) Using

as his sources the published records of the constituent assemblies and the legislative bodies and their committees, as well as a mass of scholarly commentaries, Haniel presents in this book a thorough analysis of certain aspects of the constitution of the Fourth French Republic. His major theme is the effect of constitutional provisions on governmental stability; he therefore directs his attention to the practical effects of the systems provided for choosing the *président du conseil*, putting questions of confidence and motions of censure, and dissolving the parliament. In each case he compares the practice of the Fourth Republic with that of the Third, and often he comments on similarities or differences between the constitution of France and those of the Weimar or Bonn republics. One chapter covers the constitutional reform of 1954 and its effects (without it, Haniel shows, the Faure dissolution almost certainly would not have taken place). Further reforms that were projected are also discussed. The author's tone is objective, although his predilection for a balance between the executive and legislative branches is clear. The book is fully documented and well indexed. It is beautifully printed, but the loosely glued paper cover fell off during the first reading.

Rutgers University

CARTER JEFFERSON

MAGELLAN'S VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD: THREE CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS. By *Antonio Pigafetta, Maximilian of Transylvania, and Gaspar Corrêa*. Edited and with an introduction by *Charles E. Nowell*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1962. Pp. 351. \$7.50.) Translations of three significant contemporary accounts of the voyage of Ferdinand Magellan around the world in 1519-1522 are now available in this convenient and handsome book. Charles E. Nowell has contributed a lucid seventy-page introduction and a twelve-page final comment which discuss the geographical and historical significance of a voyage that, in the eyes of many, was a more remarkable feat of navigation and courage than Columbus' voyage itself. The perils of human relations were, as in most such voyages, equally as challenging as the perils of the sea. Magellan, a Portuguese, had to deal with indifference in his own country, avarice, jealousy, and incompetence on the part of his Spanish associates, a full-scale mutiny while the ships were in South American waters, and personal overconfidence in involving himself in local quarrels in the Pacific where, in the words of Pigafetta, one of the survivors, his "so noble a captain" met his death. Nowell has utilized James Alexander Robertson's translation of Pigafetta, replacing Robertson's elaborate scholarly notes with shorter ones of his own. The translations of the letter of Maximilian of Transylvania and of the selections from the Portuguese historian Gaspar Corrêa's immense *Lendas da Índia* are derived from Lord Stanley of Alderley's *First Voyage around the World by Magellan*, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1874. Both the general reader and the scholar will welcome the republication of these earlier accounts.

Smithsonian Institution

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN SPAIN: PI Y MARGALL AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT, 1868-74. By *C. A. M. Hennessy*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 299. \$7.20.) Nineteenth-century Spanish history has attracted little interest among historians not only because the subject is confusing but because it appears to have little significance. Yet, as the author suggests, its relevance might be better appreciated by the present generation. Spain suddenly lost its world position and most of its overseas empire, suffered the drain of a protracted Cuban rebellion, lagged in economic development and had only a small middle class, and was torn by cynics, ideologues, and militarists whose mission was political. If those conditions seem familiar in much of the world today, the Spanish federal republican experience of

the last century is not likely to offer inspiration for dealing with them. Spanish radicals were beguiled by the idea that spontaneous revolution was inevitable and that republicanism was a potent international movement. When they came into power in 1873, really by default, their failure to govern was so lamentable that the country almost disintegrated, and by the end of the year the Federal Republic expired. The author traces the growth of the republican movement from 1833, particularly after the founding of the Democratic party in 1849, to its disgrace and collapse late in 1873. He has done extensive research in British and Spanish archives and has covered an impressive body of material. Much of the story, as he states, is unknowable because of the absence of documents bearing on conspiracies, finances, and popular demonstrations. The account he has put together is probably the most authoritative yet to appear, and if some of his interpretations are open to question, at least they are plausible. For the solid research and insights that characterize this book, historians may be grateful. Except for an excellent introduction and conclusion, however, the author has not skillfully organized and presented his subject matter, which is really the mid-century republican movement. Neither the title nor the subtitle fits; the Federal Republic is treated in only three of the eleven chapters. Nor is the book about Francisco Pi y Margall, who remains a dim figure throughout. To be sure, his contemporaries usually found this long-time radical leader and mentor, who briefly led the executive power in the republic of 1873, aloof and enigmatic. But Hennessy scarcely makes him understandable, and the author's liberal use of adjectives fails to clarify many other figures who abruptly appear in the account. Far too often he makes allusions to important events never narrated. The worth of the book, however, is considerable.

New York University

JOHN EDWIN FAGG

MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO: UNIVERSITAIRE. By *Yvonne Turin*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1962. Pp. vii, 145.) Miguel de Unamuno was thirty-six years old when he became rector of the University of Salamanca in 1900. Miss Yvonne Turin believes that his preparation for a career in education provides one of the best illustrations of the "history of Spanish education and instruction at the end of the past century." The new rector had graduated from the University of Madrid in 1884 and returned to Bilbao in his native Basque country. He had failed to receive an appointment at the University of Valladolid in 1888, but in 1891 he obtained the chair of comparative philology at the University of Salamanca. He soon acquired a national prestige as a member of the "Generation of '98," a group of intellectuals who sought to renovate Spain, based on the education of the entire people. Throughout his life, Unamuno emphasized elementary education and the reformation of higher education. Much of his administrative activity was devoted to a formation of public opinion. He was not systematically interested in the education of women; he rejected pedagogy; and he mistrusted religious instruction because he believed that the Spanish Church was not reconciled to universal education, and he wanted education to be free. Unamuno was especially interested in the art of instruction, in developing the imagination as the great creative power. He considered its stimulation as more real than the learning of facts because he regarded it as the center of personality, while erudition was sterile. In 1914 Unamuno was dismissed as rector when he sought to become a candidate for the senate. Thereafter he became more of a publicist and less an educator. He urged that Spanish universities be freed from political interference. He entered politics as a deputy from Salamanca in 1931, but he was dispirited by the increasing materialism under the Republic. Two years before his death, in 1936, he ceased to write articles in a deteriorating political situation. He appeared in public for the last time on October 12, 1936, to preside at a celebration organized at Salamanca in

honor of the "Day of the Race." In his reply to General Jose Millán Astray, the principal speaker, he said, "To conquer is not to convince, to conquer is not to convert. . . . Today one encounters a hatred of intelligence." General Franco interrupted the aged speaker, and his wife offered him her arm. This small but interesting volume is based on the records of the archives of the Ministry of Education and the University of Salamanca, published comments of Unamuno's contemporaries, and his own published articles. It is unfortunate that he left so few private papers to provide a greater insight into the man behind the publicist and that he remained silent just before the Civil War when his own words might well have clarified his attitude toward the Republic.

Rollins College

RHEA MARSH SMITH

PARTIJ EN FACTIE: DE OPROEREN VAN 1672 IN DE STEDEN VAN HOLLAND EN ZEELAND, EEN KRACHTMETING TUSSEN PARTIJEN EN FACTIES. By D. J. Roorda. [Historische studies uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Number 16.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1961. Pp. xi, 268. Fl. 15.00.) The classical historical account of the Dutch *rampjaar*—not even 1940 has taken from 1672 the unique right to be known by Dutchmen simply as their "year of disaster"—is high-lighted by the death struggle between the Orange party led by William III and the States party guided by the grand pensionary John de Witt. Even the fresh historical vision of Pieter Geyl, though greatly modifying the contours and the colors of the traditional picture, has not essentially rejected the centrality of this struggle. Yet denial precisely of the primacy of the dichotomy between Orange and States is the purpose of this important work by one of the last of Geyl's students at Utrecht, Dr. D. J. Roorda. Although inspired by Geyl's (and J. W. Smit's) attacks on the traditional views, Roorda uses methods suggested by the Namier school in order to sustain his thesis that it was the struggle between "in" and "out" factions among the aristocratic regents which explains the course of the riots and the *wetsverzettingen* (the massive replacements in the town magistracies) during the crisis of the French invasion. The parties were, according to Roorda, more the instruments than the manipulators of the factions. Roorda's definition of the faction as a local interest group based on "connections" of family and friendship is pure Namierism and very much to the point, for it enables him to describe the political battles of the *rampjaar* in a new and significant way. His handling of the problem of party is less satisfactory. He correctly rejects the nineteenth-century concept of party in terms of formal organization, defined aims, and competition for the support of an electorate as inapplicable to the seventeenth century, but he falls back on the remainder of nineteenth-century usage and sees the party purely as the expression of national and ideological interests, higher in the ethical scale than the office hunting of the factions. He fails to observe the crucial importance of contemporary usage in which party still meant simply "side" or "contender," molded by considerations of ideology, interest, and habit. If anything, party was a structure even more fluid and informal than faction, but no less real and important. The study of party so understood may well require methods of study as concrete as those of Namierism but more subtle in the analysis of such things as ideologies and leadership. Roorda, with his broad knowledge and sharp intelligence, would be well equipped to write the book on "party" in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic to match the one he has done on "faction."

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

HERBERT H. ROWEN

POLITIK OCH FINANSVÄSEN FRÅN 1815 ÅRS RIKSDAG TILL 1830 ÅRS REALISATIONSBESLUT. Volume II, Part 2, 1823–1830. By Per G. Andreen. [Stockholm Studies in History, Number 5.] (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 1961. Pp. xii,

389. Kr. 30.) This important study of a broad and significant aspect of the reign of the first Swedish king of the Bernadotte dynasty, Karl XIV Johan, grew out of a doctoral dissertation under the direction of the late Professor Torvald Höjer, to whose memory the present volume is dedicated. Published in 1958, the thesis sought to introduce the student of European history from 1815 to 1830 to the economic problems of Sweden. Andreen decided later to explore more fully the political aspects of the problems of Bernadotte both as heir apparent and, after 1818, as King of Sweden. As Andreen's work progressed, he modified his original plan and proceeded to write a history of the political and constitutional aspects of Sweden's fiscal and monetary policies from 1823 to 1830. The constitution of 1809 had placed the control of the Bank of Sweden in the legislative branch of the government, which was unwilling to yield any of its authority to the executive branch. The Bank of Sweden was managed by a board of directors responsible to the Four Estates. Karl XIV Johan challenged this separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches of the government. In 1823 the bank became a major issue in the Four Estates, related to all basic policies of finance, currency, duties, savings and deficits, and budget. The problems of Sweden were not unique. Political issues were sharpened by reaction and international situations. The Four Estates, however, did not convene often, a situation that was advantageous to the Swedish King in evading or modifying its resolutions. The King's financial policies encountered opposition from his advisers. Karl XIV Johan wanted to resolve the major financial problems of Sweden, then on the brink of bankruptcy; he wanted to make Sweden solvent and stop further inflation. But how? His advisers felt that a continued depreciation of the currency was essential until it became possible for the bank to redeem it at a lower prevailing rate of exchange. Andreen centers his attention upon actions of the Four Estates and the reluctance of the King to yield to advice. But the King yielded at last as his advisers called upon a number of persons who were able to influence him. Andreen's work suffers from an inadequate presentation of background materials. Persons appear in the text and in footnotes without any introduction. Last names are mentioned without initials. In this respect the English summary is superior to the main text.

Augustana College
O. FRITIOF ANDER

MODERN NORWEGIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY. By *Leslie F. Smith*. ([Oslo:] Norwegian Universities Press. 1962. Pp. 116.) The scope of this essay forms a logical supplement to Ottar Dahl's *Norsk historie forskning i 19. og 20. århundre* (1959). Dahl gave only one chapter (though a full one) to the twentieth century; this period engages two-thirds of Smith's attention. The reader soon perceives, however, that the present work does not measure up to the former either in depth of scholarship or in strength of treatment. The summaries cover many works, but in place of judgments by the author the reader is usually left with further summaries of what Norwegian historians have said about one another's works. For this period the Marxian emphasis must understandably loom large. Inadequately treated is the recent concern, especially among younger Norwegian scholars, with the basic problems in historiography; only Dahl, to whom the author is much indebted, receives adequate attention. Several fields, auxiliary to history, are somewhat neglected. Conversely, too many digressions lead into details of professional rivalry and academic politics (relevant rather to university history), and a number of passages border on the amateurish or the obvious. But the diverse schools are treated in a tone uniformly objective, and the author's extensive footnotes will prove useful to the student who must rely on English. At the very close Smith ventures a judgment that deserves respectful consideration. Norwegian historians, he says, are too much concerned with "slices" of their country's history, some vertical, some horizontal. What is needed, he urges, "is another view [like that of Sars?] of the whole of Norwegian history." He

may be asking in vain. With the focus of interest in historical matters shifting substantially in our day, national history, in the sense here requested, may no longer be forthcoming.

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN CLASSICAL WEIMAR, 1775-1806. By W. H. Bruford. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1962. Pp. ix, 465. \$9.50.) Readers of Professor Bruford's earlier major works, *Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival* (1935) and *Theatre, Drama and Audience in Goethe's Germany* (1950), will be surprised neither by the general subject matter nor by the quality of the present volume. In what it is fair to call a kind of *opus magnum* which brings together themes previously explored individually, Bruford, having drawn the background in an introductory chapter that features the ideas of Wieland and Shaftesbury, describes the formulation and crystallization of a distinctive cultural pattern at Weimar in the period between Goethe's arrival there and Schiller's death. The main element in this pattern is the emergence of the progressively more consciously held and more finely articulated interacting ideals of *Bildung* and *Kultur*. The contributions made to the explication and realization of these ideals, not only by Goethe and Schiller, but also by Herder, Fichte, and lesser writers, are assessed. In following the author's treatment of Goethe, one readily recognizes—and it is a source of genuine delight—that instinctive sureness of touch that invincibly betokens profound knowledge and subtle intelligence. Bruford understands precisely wherein the greatness of Goethe resides, a happy circumstance which makes possible an interpretation so balanced and sensible that the general reader may be encouraged to rely upon it as highly authoritative. Some few difficulties are encountered when, in the final chapter, "The Later History of the Weimar Ideals" is considered. It is, at the least, somewhat speculative to suggest that the problems of Germany in recent times are owing, in any significant degree, to either the corruption or the persistence of visions that were never within the ken of more than a few gifted individuals. Culture and society, as Bruford expressly acknowledges (and as he had already pointed out in the final pages of his *Eighteenth Century*), are not likely to come to their closest congruence at a time when the cultural leaders of the day display no interest in social reform and rarely concern themselves with the hard facts of life. Yet the nobility of the concept of *Bildung*, the supreme cultivation of one's spiritual and aesthetic potentialities, is not diminished because it is no guide to action for the generality of mankind. It is by no means an ideal to be despised.

Western Michigan University

WALTER J. BRUNHUMER

ZUR FRÜHGESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN MONOPOLKAPITALS UND DES STAATSMONOPOLISTISCHEN KAPITALISMUS. By Jürgen Kuczynski. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus. Part I, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart, Volume XIV; Dokumente und Studien zu Band 4.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962. Pp. 240. DM 27.50.) DARSTELLUNG DER LAGE DER ARBEITER IN DEUTSCHLAND VON 1849 BIS 1870. By Jürgen Kuczynski. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus. Part I, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart, Volume II.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962. Pp. 275. DM 28.) Professing to be the first extensive history of German business combinations, to be brought to 1945 by forthcoming Volume XVI, the present Volume XIV of this series traces the evolution of business combinations in nineteenth-century Germany. The well-known East German labor historian describes the centralization of business as a necessary stage in the evolution of combinations. This is illustrated by the cartelization of the

German coal, iron, steel, chemical, and electrical equipment industries. He insists that centralization necessarily precedes combination but that the latter does not inevitably follow the former. Certain catalysts are involved in this process, including price deflation, tariff protection, technological factors, and the role of banks in fostering monopoly in areas of their heavy capital investment. Though Kuczynski relies mainly on specialized monographs, company memoranda, handbooks, and materials found in the central German archives, he adds little to the well-known basic work on this subject by Liefmann and the more recent study of Mayer, save to suggest that German combinations were much more prolific than previously had been assumed and to fit his work into the familiar Marxian dialectic. Volume II of this ambitious series traces the rise of German industry during the years 1849-1870 and its economic and moral impact on the factory worker. Much is made of the spectacular progress of German industry, by contrast to the contemporary expansion in France. A dedicated Marxist, Kuczynski stresses the mid-century ascendant political role of the *Junkers*. The miscarriage of the 1848 Revolution and the subsequent German unification, he contends, served to consolidate the *Junker* hegemony and perpetuate the political subordination of the middle class. Kuczynski claims that the *Junker*-bourgeois cleavage of 1848-1870 was succeeded by a profound bourgeois-proletarian cleavage, with the bourgeoisie strongly buttressed by the declining landed aristocracy. This sets the framework for his account of the worker's sorry social and moral status, characterized by subsistence and less than subsistence wages, "freedom of contract," immobility, and the increasing incidence of industrial accident and disease resulting from a more "intensive capitalist exploitation" by 1870. Analogous studies by Tyszka, Schweder, Grumbach, König, and Bry, among others, are making German labor history less a Kuczynski family science than it once was. This is fortunate, for Kuczynski views his material through the prism of Marxist-Leninist dogmas and confounds scholarship with propaganda.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

STAAT UND GESELLSCHAFT IM DEUTSCHEN VORMÄRZ, 1815-1848. By Theodor Schieder et al. Edited by Werner Conze. [Industrielle Welt, Number 1.] (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1962. Pp. 272. DM 24.60.) The common purpose of the seven essays that comprise this book is to assess the structure and temper of German society in the years between the war of liberation and the Revolution of 1848. Four of them focus on individual states within the German Confederation, emphasizing legal institutions and economic practices rather than politics or diplomacy. Otto Brunner uses the deservedly forgotten history of Austrian administration written by Ignaz Beidtel more than a hundred years ago as the point of departure for his own sophisticated and complicated analysis of the restoration in the Habsburg Empire. Reinhart Koselleck examines the ideological, juridical, and fiscal foundations of the Prussian state in a thoughtful but difficult essay based in part on archival materials. Wolfgang Zorn and Wolfram Fischer present straightforward accounts of Bavaria and Baden, useful not only for their portrayal of conditions in the secondary states, but also for extensive bibliographical information. The other three essays are more difficult to classify, although they too bear on the over-all theme of state and society. Theodor Schieder argues persuasively that particularism was a movement of many dimensions, liberal as well as conservative, centralist as well as federalist, even at times nationalist rather than provincial. Erich Angermann's comparison of Lorenz Stein's "kingdom of social reform" with Robert Mohl's parliamentary system representing occupational groups is a respectable piece of work, although on a more modest scale than the others. Finally, Werner Conze analyzes the concepts of state and society, the process by which they became differentiated, and the social problems created by the decline of the old order in Central Europe. This book

is no substitute for Schnabel or for that matter Treitschke; nor does it pretend to be. But it is in its own right a significant contribution to our understanding of restoration Germany.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

STUDIES IN GERMAN COLONIAL HISTORY. By *W. O. Henderson*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1962. Pp. xiii, 150. \$5.50.) This short volume, consisting of nine chapters, is not a history of Germany's colonial empire. Rather it is a series of essays, or brief studies, of certain aspects of German colonial history, ranging from the chartered companies of Bismarck's day to the military campaigns in the colonies during the First World War. Henderson's primary interest is in the German effort to evolve a workable colonial policy and in the impacts of the colonial venture on German domestic and foreign policies. He sees German colonial policy going through three distinct phases in its brief history, and he believes that the German government had developed a rather sound and enlightened policy by 1914. The author strives to make an impartial assessment of Germany's achievements as a colonial power, and he has produced a good book which will make superb reading for college students and the interested layman. The book is crammed with facts, and it has footnotes, a bibliography, and a number of charts and maps.

University of North Carolina

CARL H. PEGG

A NÉMET IMPERIALIZMUS ÉS MILITARIZMUS ÚJJÁÉLEDÉSÉNEK GAZDASÁGI ÉS NEMZETKÖZI TÉNYEZŐI (1918–1923) [Economic and Political Factors in the Revival of German Imperialism and Militarism (1918–1923)]. By *László Zsigmond*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1961. Pp. 446. Ft. 80.) Professor Zsigmond, Hungary's Kossuth prize-winning historian, has amassed an amazing amount of material in preparation for this book. Besides all the relevant primary material, he has looked into secondary works, including unpublished dissertations, in all major languages. In collecting this bibliography he did all of us a service. That Zsigmond occasionally quotes out of context or uses rather cryptic references in places does not minimize his bibliographic accomplishment. Unfortunately, his scholastic apparatus hampered him somewhat. It is not limited to footnotes, but also invades the text, and this, added to his pedestrian style, makes for difficult reading. At the end of the First World War, Germany did everything possible to avoid the consequences of defeat, and some of its officers and industrialists attempted rather selfishly to save their interests and ways of life. But to generalize, as Zsigmond does, from the behavior of people like General von Goltz or Hugo Stinnes and to condemn not only all German politicians but the entire people as militarists and imperialists are certainly not warranted by any evidence. It is no secret that Germany's ability to evade some of the stipulations of the armistice agreement and the Versailles Treaty was facilitated first by disagreement in the Allied camp and then by the withdrawal of the United States from Europe following the rejection of the treaty by Congress. The economic aspects of inter-Allied problems would certainly form the legitimate subject of a monograph, but to state, as Zsigmond does, that the entire complex faced by the victors consisted of the imperialist interests of monopolists who controlled the various governments and that these governments favored Germany because they feared and hated the Soviet Union (in 1919–1920!) is a sure sign of extreme dogmatism. This dogmatic approach explains everything to the author's satisfaction. We read, for example, that Senator Lodge and those who voted with him in Congress against the Versailles Treaty did so because they hated Wilson, who, by winning the war too fast, "deprived the United States from the advantage she could have gained from the prolongation of the war and the uniform and simultaneous exhaustion of both

contending camps which, in the end, would have secured the United States the right to dictate conditions, as the arbiter, to all her imperialist enemies." Yet the reader who goes beyond the first paragraph of the introduction must expect this interpretation because he is told that the story of the years 1918-1923 must be recounted because it was repeated after the Second World War by the imperialists and militarists of the German Federal Republic, the United States, Great Britain, and France. I would still recommend that one read more than the introduction. Ignoring invectives and interpretations, the reader will find much factual material in this book, which, especially as far as Eastern Europe is concerned, might be new to him. It would certainly be very interesting to see what a less dogmatic and more objective historian would find in the material amassed by Zsigmond.

University of Washington

PETER F. SUGAR

TAGEBÜCHER 1918-1937: POLITIK, KUNST UND GESELLSCHAFT DER ZWANZIGER JAHRE. By *Harry Graf Kessler*. (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag. 1961. Pp. 799. DM 38.) There has been a steady flow of studies on the political history of the Weimar Republic, culminating in the recent translation of Erich Eyck's masterpiece. But admirable though his appraisal of German foreign and domestic affairs in the 1920's is, his work lacks one dimension: he pays little attention to the cultural climate of the times. The same holds true for most other monographs on the Weimar era, by lesser historians. Now the gap has been filled, at last, by the posthumously published diaries of Harry Graf Kessler, diplomat, writer, and connoisseur of the arts. He was one of the most brilliant German minds in the first third of our century. Avoiding the limelight, he exerted considerable influence behind the scenes. Kessler's family belonged to the high society of the Hohenzollern Empire; William I had admired his beautiful Irish mother. From his banker father he had inherited enough wealth to make him independent. A true cosmopolitan, he was at home in the cultural centers of old Europe. Among his friends were Edvard Munch and Aristide Maillol, André Gide and Paul Valéry, Gerhart Hauptmann and Thomas Mann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Richard Strauss, and Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Experts of the book arts remember him as the creator of the famous Cranach Presse in Weimar. But, above all, he was a diplomat and statesman. He served the emerging Weimar Republic as minister in Warsaw for a short while and later was often considered for major positions. Walther Rathenau, whose friendship he enjoyed and whose still unsurpassed biography he wrote, took him along to the Genoa Conference; in these diaries we get the feeling of what the "bombshell" of Rapallo meant to contemporaries. Stresemann also thought well of Kessler. As president of the German Peace Society the Count often shocked his peers by his radicalism, but earned the friendship of men like Albert Einstein. Kessler's diaries, faithfully edited by Wolfgang Pfeiffer-Belli, convey to us the true cultural atmosphere of the twenties, a decade much richer than most critics of the Weimar Republic recognize. Kessler himself, German patriot and citizen of the world, died, an exile from Hitler's tyranny, half-forgotten in France. It is gratifying that the memory of his noble personality has been revived by this extraordinary volume.

Trenton State College

FELIX E. HIRSCH

GERMANY AND THE DIPLOMACY OF THE FINANCIAL CRISIS, 1931. By *Edward W. Bennett*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 50.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 342. \$7.50.) Solidly based upon German and American archival sources, which are now so complete that "Significant suppression or omission is almost ruled out," and upon full exploitation of the rich store of available printed materials, this study is at once the most thorough and the most satisfactory ac-

count yet published on the diplomacy of the Brüning period. The only recent work that can be compared with it, Wolfgang J. Helbich's important monograph *Die Reparationen in der Ära Brüning* (1962), is narrower in focus, dealing largely with the interrelationship of reparations policy, fiscal and commercial problems, and party politics. Bennett's study discusses aspects of German foreign policy that Helbich touched on only in passing (the customs union proposal, for example), and, in addition, includes careful and critical appraisals of the policies of other interested parties, particularly the British, French, and American governments. Nothing is more striking in this account than its revelation of the rigidity and shortsightedness of German policy during the financial crisis. Bennett appreciates the difficulty of the situation in which Brüning found himself after September 1930, and he admires the courage and endurance with which he faced his problems. He concludes, nevertheless, that Brüning's policy was marked by so pronounced a desire to win a foreign triumph that might relieve his domestic difficulties that, at times, he became involved in impulsive, ambiguous, and ill-fated adventures, like the Zollunion plan, and, at others, missed opportunities that might have helped his country. "If Curtius and Bruening had been as interested in German prosperity as they were in appeasing German nationalism," the author says at one point, "they might have offered something to France in return for a prompt acceptance of the Hoover moratorium." Even after they became aware of the unfortunate tendencies of their policy, they continued to expect favors without giving anything in return and betrayed an inability to appreciate the viewpoint of either their adversaries or their friends. The policies of the other powers were hardly more effective. In an incisive critique of United States policy, Bennett praises Hoover's moratorium as "an act of unusual political courage and a victory over selfish nationalism," but he points out that the President's "bombshell procedure" and his failure to consult the French in advance largely nullified the good effects of his intervention. British policy was handicapped by the disagreement on objectives between the Foreign Office and the Treasury, and Sir Montagu Norman's Francophobia (in which some readers will find a foreshadowing of the philosophy of the appeasement school of the 1930's) encouraged the Germans in their opposition to political concessions that might have eased the crisis before it got out of hand completely. The Western statesmen who come off best here are Arthur Henderson, Henry L. Stimson, and William R. Castle; the author's reasons for praising them merit the attention of students of contemporary diplomatic negotiation, for whom, indeed, this book has other provocative suggestions.

Stanford University

GORDON A. CRAIG

NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHE GROSSRAUMORDNUNG: DIE KONSTRUKTION EINER "DEUTSCHEN MONROE-DOKTRIN." By *Lothar Gruchmann*. [Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, Number 4.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1962. Pp. 166. DM 7.80.) In this abridgment of his doctoral dissertation, Gruchmann offers a most interesting inquiry into German continental policy, its underlying theses, and the relationship, if any, between the Monroe Doctrine and models for National Socialist *Grossraumpolitik*. He shows that an utterly false interpretation of the doctrine marked German efforts to gain foreign, and especially American, endorsement of what in effect was simply an ill-disguised policy of German conquest and domination in Central Europe. Given the irrational assumptions upon which German foreign policy was based, it need not surprise anyone that Hitler and some of his diplomats thought they could gain American acceptance of their intended *Grossraumordnung* plans. Misconceptions about the Monroe Doctrine and its application, faulty evaluation of isolationist strength in the United States, misjudgments about American interests, and other failures unfortunately gave birth to the illusory view that German diplomacy could

determine the new order in Europe without fear of American intervention. The use, or rather the misuse, of the Monroe Doctrine thesis represents but one National Socialist method to justify German domination in Europe. The extension or modification of the *Mitteleuropa* concept of Naumann, Jäckh, and others preoccupied a good many German political writers, who were of course always searching for supporting evidence. Thus, the geopolitical school tried to integrate the Monroe Doctrine principles into its own theories. However, *völkische* writers were decidedly less impressed by the possibilities the doctrine offered and preferred to advance a "biological" *Grossraum* definition as the framework for German continental policy. It is regrettable that the author, highly informed about the subject matter, was forced by publication limitations to concentrate on theses that endeavored to elevate *Grossraumordnung* to a principle of international law. In particular, Gruchmann deals at length with the theories of Carl Schmitt, expounded at a meeting in April 1939 at the University of Kiel and developed in various writings. Schmitt saw in the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine the first clear reference to *Grossraumordnung*, that is, a large geographic area under the dominating influence of a politically conscious nation and of a political doctrine, to the exclusion of any other. Yet, as the author points out, Schmitt failed to appreciate the fact that the Monroe Doctrine never claimed the exclusive right for the United States to dictate the political order of the Western Hemisphere.

University of Colorado

WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. Series D (1937-1945). Volume XII, THE WAR YEARS: FEBRUARY 1-JUNE 22, 1941. [Department of State Publication 7384.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1962. Pp. lxxxii, 1109. \$4.50.) Five momentous months of German and European history are covered in this substantial volume of captured documents from the German Foreign Ministry and *Reich* Chancellery. In contrast to some of the revelations in earlier numbers of the series, the documents in this particular volume yield no striking stories for today's newspapers. Yet they do provide new material from hitherto undisclosed perspectives on one of the most significant events of the Second World War: Germany's invasion of Soviet Russia on June 22, 1941. A large number of the embassy telegrams, Foreign Ministry memoranda, and *Führer* directives published here relate to this single theme. According to the Halder diary, as far back as July 31, 1940, Hitler had made his definite decision to attack Russia the following spring. For the next eleven months he carefully prepared and skillfully concealed his intentions; in a sense the authoritative documents in this volume present an extraordinary case study in the final stages of organized diplomatic dissimulation. Time and again the documents show how Hitler tried to mislead and confuse his enemies, allies, and even his own ambassadors. While German representatives in Moscow were denying rumors of war and reassuring their Russian counterparts, Hitler was issuing a series of top secret directives for the conduct of BARBAROSSA the code name for military action against the Soviet Union. At the same time as German ambassadors abroad were talking about the war with England, Hitler was beginning to coordinate all phases of German foreign policy with his covertly anti-Soviet designs. Thus it is clear that during these months the diplomatic negotiations with Sweden, Finland, Hungary, and Rumania served primarily to protect Germany's flanks in the north and east. Military operations to the south in the Balkans and in Iraq, moreover, proved to be preliminary engagements to the ultimate conflict with Russia. Many other less important bypaths of German diplomacy are illuminated in this volume: the persistent and frustrating attempts to force Franco into the war; the efforts to formulate effective Nazi propaganda in the United States; the hesitant, inconsequential relations with Japan; Hitler's warm, relatively frank, and increasingly condescending friendship with

Mussolini; and finally Germany's interest in the anti-British proposals of the Indian nationalist Subhas Chandra Bose. The dedicated editors of this volume deserve recognition for their objective selection of relevant documents.

Harvard University

RICHARD M. HUNT

AUSTRIAN NATIONAL SOCIALISM BEFORE 1918. By *Andrew Gladding Whiteside*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962. Pp. 143. Glds. 11.75.) Whiteside's study offers a distinguished contribution to the understanding of the radical Pan-German labor movement within the frame of the Czech-German national struggle under Habsburg rule. He perceives the conflict as primarily inspired by the immigration of unskilled Czech labor into highly industrialized northern Bohemia. This led to the replacement of skilled German workers by less qualified Czechs. The struggle to keep the job and the established standards of living—understandable in itself—was rationalized into a less innocent spiritual fight for the survival of superior German culture against an inferior Czech one. The study comments lucidly about the difficult position of the Social Democratic party which, under Viktor Adler's leadership, was on one hand motivated by a German revolutionary tradition, but on the other was forced to navigate in the narrow waters of a Czech-German compromise policy. The latter never fully satisfied most of the Czech and German workers on the local level, and it left the radical fringe on both sides very much displeased. Schönerer, and after him K. H. Wolf, tried to take advantage of this situation on the German side. Whiteside believes that the Socialist program after the official establishment of the party in 1889 represented in many ways only an echo of Schönerer's social demands of the 1870's. There is, however, a difference between well-intentioned rhetoric and hard core claims. If Whiteside's conclusions were fully correct on this point, the nationalist labor movement should have been able to deflate the Socialist program. Actually the German nationalist workers made their best showing in imperial Austria in the elections of 1911 by scoring some 26,000 votes altogether, 21,000 of them in Bohemia. The vagueness of their labor program coupled with such well-worn nationalistic demands as for the German state language and the separation of Galicia from the rest of Austria, of little appeal to the workers, may be accountable for this limited success. For the time being not even the standard anti-Semitic slogans could help greatly. This movement, known since 1893 under different names, called itself officially *Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei* in August 1918. Neither the full psychological nor propagandistic implications of the ominous designation were recognized then. The author rightly does not claim that this small party organization should be considered the direct ancestor of future German National Socialism. Perhaps one may rather speak of an older cousin of lesser notoriety than the monstrous relative, but, of course, of far more than incidental similarities in character. We are greatly indebted to Whiteside for his fine analysis.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

BORDERLAND: A HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF BURGENLAND, AUSTRIA. By *Andrew F. Burghardt*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962. Pp. xii, 365. \$8.00.) A sociographic case study of the Burgenland, the easternmost "land" of the federal republic of Austria, is a study in historical complexity. It illustrates that size and population figures are not the only factors that account for intricacies of area problems. The small strip of former German western Hungary, inhabited by about 250,000 people, comprises in microcosm many of the problems that the disintegration of the Habsburg monarchy has unfolded. Involved in the decision to award this territory to Austria by the peace treaty of St. Germain was the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination and the failure of the plan to establish a com-

mon frontier between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. There is further the issue of Hungary's resistance against the occupation of the Burgenland by Austria on the strength of which the geographic and communications center of the region, Sopron, was finally awarded to Hungary. The problem of national minority protection of Croats and Magyars was not lacking either. More important proved the issue of how to integrate a slice of territory without independent historic-political and social tradition and identity of its own into another country in a more than merely geographic sense. These formidable problems have shown themselves in Burgenland in questions like state-church relations in the field of education or the difficulties of rural ecology in an area where the Austro-Hungarian iron curtain frontier may run across small farms. On the positive side of the ledger is the patient handling of the Burgenland integration by Austria. A territorial problem of post-World War I heritage has been solved. Burgenland does not only belong to Austria; the Burgenlanders feel as Austrians. This and more are discussed in Burghardt's volume. One might have wished for greater continuity in the narrative on domestic politics or a more succinct survey of statistical materials. Just the same, this is a job remarkably well done. Nothing generally known has been rehashed, and something valuable has been added to our understanding of modern Austria.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

CONNOISSEURS AND SECRET AGENTS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ROME. By *Lesley Lewis*. (New York: Hillary House. 1961. Pp. 282. \$6.00.) Based on research in the State Papers of London and Vienna, this book may not be the most important historical work of the season, but it has interest. Its chief theme is "the strange relationship created between Rome and England by the pitiable Stuart Court." After being repudiated by the French following Louis XIV's death, the Old Pretender went to Rome where he lived until his death in 1766. The pope's recognition and favoritism of the Jacobites created problems for Englishmen who visited Rome: they might be seduced by Jacobite propaganda or harassed if they resisted it. The British government employed agents to spy upon the Jacobites and also to counteract their influence as far as possible and to help loyal Englishmen who got into trouble in Rome. Of these by far the most interesting, as Mrs. Lewis establishes, was Cardinal Alessandro Albani, art connoisseur and collector, patron of the great scholar Winckelmann, a nephew of Pope Clement XI, and a highly civilized eighteenth-century gentleman. Albani's role as British agent seems not heretofore to have been known. Stosch, the other major spy dealt with in this book, has been known, but hardly evaluated (see G. H. Jones, *Main Stream of Jacobitism*). Thus Mrs. Lewis has made a contribution to our knowledge, if a fairly small one, given the "pitiable" nature of the Jacobite court in Rome as well as of the eighteenth-century papacy. It is curious indeed to find Cardinal Albani aiding the British against the Jacobites and thus, by extension, against the papacy. Perhaps (though Mrs. Lewis does not explore the hypothesis) this represented a covering bet by the popes, keeping a line open to Westminster while nominally doing their duty to the Stuarts. Albani, among whose visitors was the American painter Benjamin West, also helped such Englishmen as Bubb Dodington, Horace Walpole, and King George III himself obtain art treasures. A minor contribution to diplomatic and political history, the book also may be of interest to the social historian in its illumination of society, high and low, in eighteenth-century Rome.

University of Maryland

ROLAND N. STROMBERG

L'UNITA D'ITALIA NELLE DISCUSSIONI DEI PARLAMENTI ESTERI (1859-1861). Volume I. ([Rome:] Segretariato Generale della Camera dei Deputati.

1962. Pp. 277.) The first of a series of three commemorative volumes, this handsomely printed book is the Italian parliament's celebration of the centenary of unification in the Age of the Common Market. Debates in the British, Swedish, and Prussian parliaments (from the outbreak of war in the spring of 1859 to the announcement a year later that Nice and Savoy would be ceded to France) are presented in judicious summaries punctuated by extended quotations in Italian from the debates themselves. By definition such an effort has its limits. It is restricted to countries where a representative body could indulge in open debate, and even there the most significant expression of feeling toward Italy was not always made in parliament. Emphasis is necessarily given to discussions specifically concerned with Italian affairs, discussions that focused on diplomacy and were not, at least in England, always the most revealing of Catholic or liberal attitudes. Four-fifths of the book treat the House of Commons. Here, despite the editor's careful précis, statements on Italy presented with only passing attention to party politics and general issues of foreign policy make concern for Italy seem deeper and more purposeful than it was. And inevitably Italophile speeches are given the greater coverage. Palmerston's insistence on neutrality in 1859 and his hesitance after the truce of Villafranca appear deliberate efforts to further Italian unity (which Derek Beales's recent book has shown they were not). Less well known, the discussions in Sweden are particularly interesting for their frequent comparisons of the European positions of Sweden and Piedmont. The Prussian debates, on the other hand, must have been harder to handle, for, whatever their feelings about Italy, most deputies spoke in terms of relations with Austria and of Germany's future. By the spring of 1860, even the English were debating less about Italy than about the government's policy toward France, and the reader is likely to sympathize with Lord Russell's complaint that the whole subject had been gone over before. Perhaps he will learn more of what the *Risorgimento* meant to Europe in subsequent volumes as the exploits of red shirts more openly evoke ideological reactions. In the meantime we have in this volume a handy reference and an inadvertent reminder that despite its drama the *Risorgimento* was, for harried politicians of other countries, only one further complication in a world of dangerous change.

Princeton University

RAYMOND GREW

LA RESISTENZA A FIRENZE. By *Carlo Francovich*. [Quaderni del Ponte, Number 10.] (Florence: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice. 1962. Pp. xvi, 383. L. 3,000.) On the basis of material collected in the *Istituto per la Storia della Resistenza* in Tuscany, which he directs, Francovich has written a carefully documented account of the resistance movement in Florence from 1943 until the city's liberation in August 1944. It was here that the Italian armed resistance first demonstrated to the Allies its military and political potentialities. Henceforth they dared not ignore the underground fighters in the north. The author participated in the Florentine struggle as a leader of the Action party. He is therefore best informed about this current, but he has tried to present a balanced account of the work of such other groups as the Communists, Socialists, Catholics, and Liberals. Francovich's book is one of the best regional studies of the resistance to appear thus far and merits the "Premio Venezia" it recently won.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

DAS MEMELLAND, 1920-1939: DEUTSCHE AUTONOMIEBESTREBUNGEN IM LITAUISCHEN GESAMTSTAAT. By *Ernst-Albrecht Plieg*. [Marburger Ostforschungen, Number 19.] (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1962. Pp. xii, 268. DM 27.) Submerged beneath the irritatingly petty meanness of the story of the rival nationalities of Eastern Europe lies a great tragedy. Countless millions struggled to live normal lives in the interwar years in places like Memel, but for most of them a world they never

made was too strong. Hate, physical suffering, and death were the lot of perfectly decent Germans, Lithuanians, Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians. Plieg's enlarged dissertation skirts the human side of this story, concentrating on the bare facts of the political and diplomatic conflict, but the tragedy is nonetheless revealed in the very barrenness of the quarrels which so ultimately determined the Memellanders' lives. His study reveals, too, the immense difficulty of maintaining "free cities" and "autonomous territories" in the modern world. This intensive monograph has been carefully prepared, with an impressive scholarly apparatus. Plieg has examined the relevant records of the Politisches Archiv of the Auswärtiges Amt in Bonn and those of the Staatsarchiv Königsberg (now at Göttingen) and the Bundesarchiv at Koblenz. He supplements his extensive bibliographic researches with private communications from many of the principals in his story to produce an impression of completeness. In a sense it is hard to see just what makes his book seem biased. Certainly it is not intentionally "pro-German"; Plieg is a scientific historian who utters few judgments, letting the facts speak for him. Furthermore, the Germans of the Memeland were more sinned against than sinning. Nevertheless, the American reader may well put the book down with the query, "What do the Lithuanians have to say about all this?" In spite of a few rather old references, Plieg takes little account of Lithuanian literature on the subject. Events in Lithuania and intentions of Lithuanians, indeed, the motives and opinions of the signatory powers of the Memel Convention of 1924, are as often as not derived from some minute or letter of a German Foreign Office official. To a large extent Plieg may have had no alternative. The Lithuanians appear always in the wrong. Was this really true? Plieg shows a more or less continuous effort by the German government to influence and help the Memellanders—understandable behavior on the part of Weimar Germany, and too little appreciated by its critics, but not exactly reassuring to the uneasy Lithuanians. Often Plieg builds up a factual picture of German conspiracy, not, to be sure, for treasonable or unworthy ends, only to report Lithuanian countermeasures in rather injured tones.

University of Nebraska

ROBERT KOEHL

REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY. By *Paul E. Zinner*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 380. \$6.00.) Zinner's well-documented book on the 1956 Hungarian revolution is characterized by a strange double character. As a historical essay on this decisively important turn in the whole historical development of Bolshevism since its beginning, the book is an interesting addition to the already vast literature about the last Hungarian revolution. But the author's personal views of recent and past Hungarian history, mixed with factual errors and erroneous judgments, regrettably decrease the value of his contribution to the understanding of this monumental historical crisis of our time. Zinner's description of post-1945 Hungarian history and the structure of the book are acceptable because they help the reader unfamiliar with Hungarian history to see through its apparent and intricate maze. The chronological structure of the work, a well-written analysis of postwar Hungarian political life and the actions of its participants, is, however, very useful. According to the author, General Lakatos, Prime Minister of Hungary during the summer of 1944, "was, if anything, more recalcitrant than the Regent [Horthy] on the subject of a separate armistice with the Russians." The truth is that Lakatos, a distinguished leader of the Hungarian military resistance to the Nazis, was appointed Prime Minister at the last act of the national tragedy, with the dangerous mission of obtaining contact with the United Nations in order to offer a separate peace treaty. There were secret Hungarian emissaries in Switzerland in 1944. They contacted United Nations' representatives, but were informed that they first had to get in touch with the Soviet government. Can representatives of a de-

feated enemy nation, ready to surrender, be blamed for not having known the secret decision (and fatal blunder) of World War II Western diplomacy to give up Central Europe to the Soviets in advance? There is another unobjective judgment at the end of the book. According to Zinner, the 1867 "compromise" between Austria and Hungary that restored Hungarian national sovereignty "had a disastrous effect on democratic reforms." The author also talks about a "resurgent feudalism and an actual European trend toward industrial democracy and social equality." Actually, Hungary, with the entire Austro-Hungarian Empire, became a constitutional-parliamentary monarchy in 1867. This resulted in a series of liberal political and social reforms, even in Hungary. Some factual errors must be noted. The Hungarian youth organization, *Soli Deo Gloria*, was not Catholic but Protestant. The late Count Karolyi, an honest, naïve former aristocrat of limited intellectual capacities, was not "a personal symbol of persecuted Hungarian liberals" in exile in the Horthy era. Karolyi was a sincere and steady fellow traveler of Communism who broke with Stalinism only in 1948 when his friend, the Communist Laszlo Rajk, was executed as a "Titoist conspirator." It is unfortunate that an otherwise worthwhile work should include a number of unhistorical statements.

Saint Francis College, Loretto, Pennsylvania

EUGENE GONDA

A MODERN HISTORY OF SOVIET GEORGIA. By *David Marshall Lang*. (New York: Grove Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 298. \$6.50.) Georgia, that distant land rich in legend and romance in the Caucasus, has evoked an increasing interest in the West in recent years, mostly for two reasons. A general curiosity stemmed from Stalin's personality: as the renegade son of Georgia, naturally people everywhere wanted to know about his country and his people. But the scholarly interest evinced in Georgian studies owes much to the work of Dr. David Lang, who as reader in Georgian studies in the School of Oriental and African Studies at the London University has enriched the literature of the subject in English more than any Anglo-American scholar. After writing three good books on Georgia's saints, the numismatic history, and the general history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he now attempts to compress Georgia's modern history within 275 pages in a series of the "lesser known countries," edited by Professor Bernard Lewis. In the first two chapters on Georgia and the Georgians and their kings, the reader is carried to the time of Russia's annexation of the country in 1801. In Chapters III-VIII there is the detailed but somewhat confused history of 117 years, from 1801 to 1917. The next three chapters are devoted to the Georgian struggle for independence, the birth (in 1918) and the growth of the republic, and its death in early 1921, when it was forcibly absorbed by the Soviet Union. In his summary of the political, economic, social, and cultural history of the last forty years in the two final chapters, the author's treatment of these subjects is not satisfactory. There one senses a certain lack of coherence and unity, for at times long paragraphs read like the goals (presumably attained) by successive five-year planners, while sometimes unnecessary details of Stalin's and Beria's purges in Georgia leave the reader with the erroneous impression that these Georgian renegades were most ruthless toward their kinsmen. Perhaps they cared less for certain Georgians, but Stalin meant to be good to Georgia. He proved this by allotting several thousand square miles of Chechen-Ingush territory to the Georgian Republic in 1944 when the native people there were forcibly dispersed to distant parts of the Soviet Union. Some of Lang's statements may be challenged by the fact that Stalin's name is still associated with the state university in Tbilisi. In sum, Lang, the serious student and an unexcelled authority on Georgian studies in the West, here has not maintained the standard he set for himself in his *Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy, 1658-1832*.

Library of Congress

A. O. SARKISSIAN

MAXIM GORKY: ROMANTIC REALIST AND CONSERVATIVE REVOLUTIONARY. By *Richard Hare*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 156. \$3.40.) This portrait of Maxim Gorky, the first biography in English since Alexander Kaun's *Maxim Gorky and His Russia* (1931), is marked by a perspective admirable both in its good sense and in its sophistication. Hare chips away the frame built around Gorky by his Soviet captors as a proletarian writer. Instead he presents the democratic defender of Russian cultural values to which Gorky gained access through self-education and native intellectual gifts rather than through birth and station. The experiences of his youth gave Gorky a double consciousness, for he knew at firsthand the brutalized condition of the *narod* whom the intelligentsia had idealized and yet hoped for the extension of humane culture to the *narod* through education. Hare's Gorky is the apolitical literary artist and humanist who attempted to fuse a democratic realism with cultural conservatism in the midst of Russia's Second Time of Troubles. As a romantic, he was attracted to the dynamism of the revolutionaries, but repelled by their ideological sectarianism and cynical disregard of "culture." In 1917 he lashed Lenin as "a cold-blooded trickster" and the Bolsheviks as "Napoleons of socialism." Yet his deep-rooted pride in his country and his hope for a democratic reaffirmation of the cultural past and of European social efficiency eventually drew him back into the service of reconstruction. According to Hare, he regarded himself innocently enough not as an agent of the Stalin dictatorship, but as the spokesman of the creative self-confidence that he perceived in Russian life after 1928. With an artist's naïveté, he hoped that this self-confidence, "the elevating lie" that he always preferred to the "depressing truth," might yield the cultural revival jeopardized in the earlier years of the revolution. The Stalinist exploitation of Gorky signified not the writer's capitulation to the dictator, but the tragic inundation of every voice raised in Russia in defense of humane and democratic values in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The Bolsheviks captured Gorky only by falsely appropriating the vocabulary of freedom and democracy in the service of a new *oprichnina*. Hare leads us to conclude that Gorky was one of the authentic heirs of nineteenth-century Russian humanism who risked his integrity in Soviet politics to defend his ideals. He became thereby an object lesson for the independent thinker and artist caught up in a politically directed social revolution.

Hamilton College

CHARLES C. ADLER, JR.

AFRICA

PORTUGAL IN AFRICA. By *James Duffy*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. 239. \$3.95.) The thesis of this book is Portuguese mythology versus African reality. As Duffy views the scene, he sees more than four centuries of exploitation or neglect of the Negro camouflaged by a screen of Christian humanity and false equality. The Portuguese began the occupation of Africa in the fifteenth century and have widely advertised that they were the best colonizers, that they alone understood and treated the Negroes as equals. They have pointed to Brazil as an example of assimilation of races. But statistics do not indicate that Portuguese Africa matches the record of Brazil. Brazil received the Negro as slave; the whites, lacking other women for the most part, mixed freely with Negro women. Africa furnished those slaves. The whites, who were there principally as slavers and traders (not as true colonists in most cases) and in much smaller proportion, did not mix so freely as in Brazil. According to the official figures of 1950, there were about 56,000 "civilized" Negroes in the combined population of Portuguese Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique in a total of more than 10,000,000 people. The proportion is about 200 uncivilized to each civilized Negro. Some

99 per cent of the Negro population is illiterate. The above figures have changed but little under the impact of Portugal's recent colonial policies, for the principal benefits have gone to the whites, whether old settlers or new immigrants, with some *assimilados* (Negroes granted Portuguese citizenship) sharing somewhat in the undeniable progress. Schools are mainly for the whites, the proportion of Negro school children decreasing sharply in the higher grades. The high schools are almost entirely white. There is no university; nor do many of the Negroes go to Portugal to school. Duffy has traced Portuguese colonial policies from the time of the earliest settlements. He finds that after an initial period in which the reality somewhat resembled the myth so carefully cultivated about later times, the policy has been one of exploitation. The story he tells is not pleasing to the Portuguese, but it is well documented and is probably the one that will prevail and be accepted by the world outside Portugal. There are seven maps and a bibliography, but no footnotes.

City College of New York

BAILEY W. DIFFIE

LA COLONISATION ET L'AGRICULTURE EUROPÉENNES EN TUNISIE DEPUIS 1881: ÉTUDE DE GÉOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE ET ÉCONOMIQUE. By *Jean Poncet*. [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Recherches méditerranéennes, Études, Number 2.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1962. Pp. 700.) This is an important book for two kinds of readers: the historian and the Foreign Service officer. The former will find it to be a careful work in historical and economic geography that supplements and elucidates the more commonly available political and constitutional data. Poncet has the advantage of more than twenty-five years of experience in Tunisia, without which the subject could not have been brought so fully to life. At the same time, his approach is not exculpatory. If, on the contrary, the overtones are often critical, it is difficult to see how the facts he marshals could be read in any other way. For the Foreign Service officer, and perhaps for some historians traveling on African or Asian grants, the book provides indirectly a case study in why some leaders of new states, independent of influences from Moscow or Peking, are skeptical about large-scale private enterprise and favor one or another variety of *étatisme*. Poncet divides his subject into three periods. The first decade after 1881 was a time of speculation in land values by a small group of French owners who farmed the soil only indirectly by renting to Tunisian or Italian farmers. From 1891 to about 1930, much official attention was given to bringing in more French settlers, but this was chiefly a "mirage" behind which large landholdings and land companies grew larger. It was, however, a period when French proprietors began to resort to direct farming, employing Tunisian laborers. This reached fruition in 1930 to 1958, when scientifically managed French estates producing wheat, wine, and olive oil, and these mostly for export, came to be profitable. But most of the Tunisian agriculturists were pushed out to the poorest land or were forced into a rural proletariat. Because it was completed early in 1958 this book affords only introductory information about the economic crisis that accompanied independence. The bibliography is excellent save for the section on historical works, which omits some important titles.

Syracuse University

VINCENT CONFER

THE ALGERIANS. By *Pierre Bourdieu*. Translated by *Alan C. M. Ross*. Preface by *Raymond Aron*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 208. \$3.95.) Originally published in the "Que sais-je?" series under the title *Sociologie de l'Algérie* in 1958, this book was revised in 1961, and the English translation, reviewed here, brings that revision up to date in some passages. Pierre Bourdieu is a sociologist and philosopher at the University of Lille. He divides this study into three parts: chapters analyzing the social structures, mores, and manners of the four major Moslem groups—Kabyles, Shawia, Mozabites,

and Arabic-speaking peoples; a transition chapter entitled "The Common Cultural Heritage"; and, finally, two chapters on post-1954 Algeria, the first a penetrating and utterly pitiless examination of the colonial system and the second, "Revolution within the Revolution," a brilliant piece that connects events and aspirations of the rebellion to pre-existing institutions, or, more accurately, what was left of them, at the same time amplifying the absolute bankruptcy of the French colonial system and the inevitable triumph of the nationalist cause. This book is much more than another brave statement by a member of a long and distinguished line of French humanists and social scientists who in recent times might be said to begin with Camus in Algeria in 1936 and to end with the statements of Mauriac, Julien, Tillion, and Jules Roy. It is an explanation of why France failed to hold Algeria after 124 years of colonization and almost 8 years on top of that dedicated to "pacification" and "regroupment," why even the most refined weaponry and techniques in the end proved useless. A work written by the most militant Algerian nationalist could not be more challenging, more biting, than this book which mentions De Gaulle only once and then, unfavorably, in quoting from a Berber *chanson de geste* recorded in 1958.

Northwestern University

RICHARD M. BRACE

ASIA AND THE EAST

SOUTHEAST ASIAN HISTORY: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC GUIDE. Edited by *Stephen N. Hay* and *Margaret H. Case*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962. Pp. vii, 138. \$5.00.) This compilation of approximately seven hundred bibliographical entries about books, articles, and theses deals primarily with the historical and political development of the region of Southeast Asia. Besides the countries comprising Southeast Asia—Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak, Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam—Ceylon is considered to be a part of the area. The editors contend that because Ceylon became the foremost center of Theravada Buddhism it influenced the religious development of Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia. Considering India's extensive influence on the cultural and social life of various parts of Southeast Asia, one might ask whether India should be considered a part of Southeast Asia like Ceylon. One of the values of the compilation is that, in addition to the available books and periodical articles, there are listed unpublished theses in the fields of history or political science that research students have prepared largely in the postwar years. Except for these dissertations, all items carry an acceptable commentary which indicates the nature of the study referred to. In the section on Burma the mistake is made of entering the Burman authors under the latter part of their name, thus implying such to be their family name. In Burma, however, Burmans do not have family names. Hence, instead of Tin, U Pe Maung, the entry should be Pe Maung Tin, U. To aid libraries and students in the procurement of the publications listed, the appendix provides a list of book dealers in America, Europe, and Southeast Asia who provide materials on the region of Southeast Asia. The author and subject indexes are adequate and well designed as finding tools.

Library of Congress

CECIL HOBBS

WRITTEN ON BAMBOO AND SILK: THE BEGINNINGS OF CHINESE BOOKS AND INSCRIPTIONS. By *Tsuen-Hsuei Tsien*. [The University of Chicago Studies in Library Science.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. Pp. xiv, 233. \$7.50.) As librarian of the Far Eastern collections at the University of Chicago, the author had access to all necessary information for producing this excellent book. The

words bamboo and silk in the title are a shorthand expression to designate the writing materials commonly used before the invention of paper around A.D. 105. We often forget that paper was used in China a millennium before it was used in Europe; nor are we aware how firmly the stages of its development can be attested. In order to treat the evolution of writing and the changes in the format of the book through many centuries, the author necessarily touches upon many related topics: the brush pen, ink, education, historiography, libraries, destruction and preservation of books, textual criticism, types of literature, the making of dictionaries, not to mention the place that writing had in early divination. Students of Chinese art will find Tsien's account of inscriptions on stones, bronzes, jade, mirrors, seals, coins, and pottery very rewarding—all the more so owing to the rich assortment of new illustrations. The ingenious technique of making facsimile impressions from incised stones and bronzes, a process that long antedated China's invention of printing in the eighth century, is set forth with admirable clarity. But the old term "rubbing" for this device, imperfect though it is, seems preferable to the rather vague "ink squeezing" which this book seems to favor. The author's talent for leading us into attractive byways without losing his way is one of the delights of this book. Another is his use, at every point, of the latest archaeological discoveries in Communist China since 1949, to supplement older information. Written in a simple and direct style, for the layman as well as for the scholar, it will find a hospitable place on many shelves.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

CHŪSEI NO JINJA TO SHARYO: ASO NO KENYŪ [Shrines and Shrine Estates of Medieval Japan: A Study of the Aso Area]. By *Hisao Sugimoto*. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan. 1959. Pp. xiii, 555. 1,200 Y.) The key problems of this book are: how powerful families, prior to the Taika age, inheriting their religious rites and their lands, developed them under the Ritsuryō system (a code of laws), and how these powerful families, acting both as Shinto priests and lords, prospered in medieval society. The author's method of studying these problems was to analyze the abundant supply of difficult records found at Aso Shrine, located near the grand volcano Aso. The evidence found in the records indicates in detail that the head Shinto priest of Aso Shrine built up a powerful family and as the lord of the area dominated both the Shinto and the Buddhist groups during the Kamakura, Nanbokuchō, and Muromachi. This book consists of four parts. In Part I, "Aso Shrine and Aso-Daigūji," the author claims that from the viewpoint of political history, a group of old tombs in the east corner of the caldera of Mt. Aso are those of descendants of Asonokimi, a character in the *Kojiki* and that in the eleventh century Asonokimi became the *shōkan* (head of the manor) of Asonoshō, a land belonging to the imperial family. As a result he acquired the accompanying land and rose to the level of *Shugo-daimyō* not later than the beginning of the Muromachi era. The author in Part II, "Construction of Aso Shrine Estates," examines the social and economic history of the Aso Shrine land and the accompanying lands of Kōsa, Takemiya, and Kōnoura. Part III, "Shinto Priests and Buddhist Priests," treats the religious and social history of the priests (both the Shinto priests of Aso Shrine and the praying Buddhist priests who were connected with Saigandenji, the temple on the top of Mt. Aso). The folklore connected with the religious rites of Aso Shrine is discussed in Part IV, entitled "Divine Service and Buildings." As the author, who teaches in the Kumamoto University of this district, has thoroughly studied the actual condition of Aso Shrine land, he has succeeded in revealing the character of the remote manor. He has also studied the divine service with his deep folkloristic knowledge and clarified the uniqueness of belief in Shinto in medieval society. This volume

is valuable both as a study of the history of medieval society and as the most recent research into the history of Shinto shrines.

Tōhoku University

TAKESHI TOYODA

SURVEY OF INDIA'S SOCIAL LIFE AND ECONOMIC CONDITION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1707-1813). By *Kalikinkar Datta*. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1961. Pp. xiii, 258.) Kalikinkar Datta begins his study of the social and economic condition of eighteenth-century India with the recognition that the subject still awaits "comprehensive and detailed" treatment. Datta has produced distinguished historical writing, and it is important to have his evaluation of eighteenth-century India, but admittedly his study is preliminary. For manuscript sources, Datta relies largely on the records of his home area, Patna. These are important archives, as I know from experience, but the many untouched sources elsewhere in India also need to be consulted. Datta only handles the Bengali literature of the period, for all historians are limited in their capacity to use India's many important languages. In certain topics, he allows some surprising omissions. While describing new trends in Hinduism, for example, he neglects the corresponding development in Moslem thought and omits Shah Waliullah entirely from the study. In dealing with India's industry, agriculture, trade, banking, and currency, Datta tends to write an account of the economy of the East India Company and European enterprise, rather than of India itself. Relying on the company's records and European memoirs, Datta slights developments in the Indian economy prior to 1757. This early period needs investigation to provide a standard for judging the performance of the Indian economy during the British predominance. His material, moreover, all requires more rigorous economic analysis, better organization, and better presentation, so that its significance might better emerge. Still, the eighteenth century presents the historian with many difficulties. Source material is sometimes sketchy, sometimes overabundant, always likely to be confusing and hard to analyze. Datta's predecessors have hampered the interpretation of the eighteenth century with misconceptions, troublesome prejudices, and inappropriate ideology. The conditions under which Indian historians work, moreover, prevent the fulfillment of much valuable work. In view of the problems and difficulties, we can be glad that Datta published his present book, though it is not definitive. It should serve to encourage fresh research and revised interpretations in eighteenth-century studies.

Bowdoin College

GEORGE D. BEARCE

EARLY TRAVELLERS IN NEW ZEALAND. Edited by *Nancy M. Taylor*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xxx, 594. \$10.10.) This book, a stirring epic of exploration, contains the journals, diaries, and reports of eleven travelers in New Zealand from 1841 to 1873. Mrs. Taylor's work is a fine example of what an editor's task must be: detailed and accurate research drawn on to show precisely where an explorer went, to select and annotate the original works. She orients the reader to time, place, and pertinent facts in the lives of the sometimes obscure men whose writings she has chosen to illuminate New Zealand's early history. If one is to understand the social and economic background of colonial New Zealand, this book is required reading. Invaluable aids are the maps or sketches of areas through which the travelers passed, glossaries of common plants and birds, and bibliography. These travelers wrote of the beaches, bush, swamp, lakes, rivers, river gorges, forest track, grasslands, and mountains where they walked. Five of these eleven men are explorers: William Colenso, botanist-missionary; George Augustus Selwyn, first bishop of New Zealand; Thomas Brunner, one of the most notable minor explorers; Charles Heaphy, draftsman, surveyor, New Zealand's first winner of the Victoria Cross (1867); and A. J. Barrington, an un-

known west coast gold prospector. Six of these eleven men are travelers rather than explorers: Dr. John Johnson, New Zealand's first colonial surgeon; Charles Abraham, head of St. John's College, Auckland; John Turnbull Thomson, chief surveyor of Otago; Percy Smith, at eighteen years an assistant surveyor; Lieutenant, the Honourable Herbert Meade, RN, a visitor on a semiofficial flag showing tour during a lull in the Maori wars (1864); and Lieutenant Colonel J. H. H. St. John, a retired British regular who joined the colonial forces (1863) and later the Native Department.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa

JOHN A. GREENLEE

THE OPENING OF JAPAN: A DIARY OF DISCOVERY IN THE FAR EAST, 1853-1856. By *George Henry Preble*. Edited by *Boleslaw Szczesniak*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1962. Pp. xxvi, 453. \$6.95.) It is helpful to have in print at last the journal of George Henry Preble, a lieutenant (not until later rear admiral) with the Perry expedition to Japan. The journal, copied from diary-like letters to the author's wife, is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The editor must be unaware that it was edited more than a decade ago by John Wooton as an unpublished master's thesis at the Claremont Graduate School. Although the editor writes that the sloop *Macedonian*, on which Preble served, "participated in all of the important activities of the Perry mission," it was not available for the commodore's first visit to the Bay of Uraga in 1853. The diary covers the period April 10, 1853, to August 15, 1856. The part describing the voyage to Japan in 1854 constitutes only one-fifth of the whole. Observations in the Hong Kong-Canton area, the Liu Ch'iu Islands, the Bonins, Formosa, Manila, Shanghai, Chefoo, and Singapore are also reported. While in Japanese waters, Preble was chiefly engaged in hydrographic surveys and coastal charting; he was not able to travel on shore as much nor meet as many Japanese as did such more interesting diarists as the Reverend Samuel Wells Williams and Dr. James Morrow. He did visit Shimoda and Hakodate, both of the ports opened by the Treaty of Kanagawa. In editing this journal Szczesniak used rather extensively most of the pertinent American sources, though he apparently did not compare the Preble journal carefully with certain of the other informative diaries. He did use published works and special collections at such depositories as the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and the New York Public Library. In addition to a largely biographical introduction, this volume includes a dozen illustrations (some familiar, others rare), an abstract of the cruise of the *Macedonian*, a list of places mentioned in the text, a selective bibliography, and an index.

Fletcher School, Tufts University

ALLAN B. COLE

L'OCCIDENT "CHRÉTIEN" VU PAR LES CHINOIS VERS LA FIN DU XIX^e SIÈCLE (1870-1900). By *André Chih*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris, Travaux de l'Institut d'Histoire des Relations Internationales.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1962. Pp. 273. 12 fr.) This is an engrossing account of China's efforts to reconcile its traditional feeling of superiority to other nations with the actual weaknesses revealed by its defeats at the hands of the Western Powers and Japan during the nineteenth century. This process took the form of admitting China's material inferiority while at the same time reasserting its pre-eminence in the more important realm of morality. The author uses a wealth of Chinese-language materials to illustrate how this concept of a spiritually inclined China standing in opposition to a materialistic West has pervaded the thinking of China's leaders for more than a century. Although initially the Chinese rejected everything except Western arms and technology, by the end of the nineteenth century many of the literati were eager to adopt Western economic and political institutions as well; even these reformers, however, continued to despise

Western morality, which they associated with Christianity. As a Roman Catholic, the author is intent on discovering why this occurred. He makes much of the contradiction between the teachings of Christian morality and the un-Christian behavior of the many profit-seeking adventurers who made their way to China from Europe and the United States, but his findings also suggest that by rejecting Christianity the Chinese felt they were saving at least some degree of "face" for their own society which was in the process of borrowing from other aspects of Western civilization. Unfortunately, this otherwise valuable book is marred by a certain amount of special pleading for Christianity and by an inadequate treatment of the underlying psychological forces that persuaded the Chinese to condemn Western civilization as "materialistic." These have been dealt with in a more sophisticated fashion by the American scholar, Joseph Levenson, whose writings Chih apparently failed to consult.

Duke University

DONALD G. GILLIN

NOMADS AND COMMISSARS: MONGOLIA REVISTED. By *Owen Lattimore*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xxiii, 238. \$5.75.) This is an absorbing and affectionate account of Outer Mongolia in our time preceded by three chapters which comprise the best short account of nomadism and its principles I have ever read. The author's object is to familiarize us with the vast Mongol Republic, whose people today are the best fed, best clothed, and, on the average, enjoy the best housing and educational opportunities of any Asian country, and to show us how this came about in the past forty years, starting with a land of free nomads whose tradition and inheritance were against the direction and mobilization of life. "What a society in which to launch a revolution guided by Marxism. . . ." Outer Mongolia rebelled against the detested Chinese rule in 1911, and until 1917 the Autonomous Mongol Republic was under tsarist protection. The Mongols always admired the Russians they knew, frontiersmen free of caste and color prejudice, poor, hardy, and, like the Mongols, without rights. From 1917 to 1921 the Mongols fought a national revolution against Chinese, Japanese, and White Russians, and the 1921 "revolution of shepherds" was protected again by Russians, this time Soviet. Because the Soviets neither took over nor dominated Mongolia, it was not until 1928 that the Mongols, under the triple pressures of antifeudalism, anti-Sinicism, and Soviet trade turned toward Communism with attendant excesses. So drastic were they that the USSR intervened to blunt them, just in time to shield Mongolia again, this time from the Japanese push into the continent. Since then external politics as much as ideology has kept the Mongols in the Soviet orbit. It is the only foreign alliance in which they would be least subordinate and the only one which would not press for a return of clerical and princely feudal rule in Mongolia. The Mongols also gratefully acknowledge the sustained Soviet technical and economic aid which, with their own lack of any drag from a past middle or artisan class, resulted in the 1940's and 1950's in a great and easy leap forward to the most advanced kind of mechanization. The thesis is that these people have put together the best of their past and the best of their present to become the first and best example of true satellite development. Anyone familiar with Lattimore's work will see that he has focused all his unique experience, great erudition, and deep feelings for "Mongolia's lovely land" into this small and exceedingly valuable study.

University of Florida

JOHN A. HARRISON

NEW KOREA: NEW LAND OF THE MORNING CALM. By *Kyung Cho Chung*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1962. Pp. xiii, 274. \$6.00.) The eagerness with which students of Korean history and politics may be attracted to this book will soon be dampened. For however praiseworthy the motives that inspired this account of a "New

Korea," the analysis is so superficial and the author's views so ambivalent that the "argument" of the book becomes vague and meandering. The historical survey with which the book opens sets the pattern for the easy generalizations that characterize the entire narrative. For in view of Mrs. Bishop's marshaled evidence (*Korea and Her Neighbours*) of poverty, backwardness, and woeful corruption, it is very doubtful that "all phases of life" in the Yi dynasty "underwent a renaissance as notable as that of any comparable historical period anywhere." What confidence can the reader then place in the more recent history? Those of us who tangled with Syngman Rhee and his (American and Korean) henchmen need not be persuaded of his despotic, cruel, and devious actions. But because his administration was shockingly corrupt, does it follow that the new Korea of General Park Chung Hee is all wise, unfailingly benevolent, ever engaged in providing "equal justice under law [whose law?] for rich and poor alike"? And why is Chang Myun's government called "the closest one to a democracy Koreans had known" when the party he led is described not as an opponent of Rhee's liberal party but as "a collaborator with an oligarchy" of corruption? Nor is this double standard applied only to governments that have been engulfed in Korea's hapless history. The military junta that seized power in 1961 is described in glamorous language since, under it, corrupt officials were dismissed, relief provided for the needy, hoodlums arrested, farmers helped, tax evaders punished, and all bribery of police or prosecutors ended! Why then does the picture change when one reaches the "Conclusions"? Why has General Park now become so arbitrary and patriarchal? Why has bribery again "proved as expeditious" as it "was necessary under the Japanese, Rhee and Chang rules"? Flamboyant generalizations, unsupported claims, and imprecise assertions make the conclusions a cobweb of hopes, reflecting, I fear, the persistent optimism poisoned with negativism that has for generations made political agreement and economic progress so difficult in the "land of the morning calm."

*School of Advanced International Studies,
Johns Hopkins University*

E. A. J. JOHNSON

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SINO-SOVIET BLOC IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By *Oliver E. Clubb, Jr.* (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution. 1962. Pp. ix, 173. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.00.) Clubb's analysis of America's role in postwar Southeast Asia takes its place among the best of the series of similar studies sponsored by the Brookings Institution. The first two-thirds of the book describe the successive phases of the Sino-Soviet intrusion and the American rejoinder. The last third weighs alternative answers to specific policy questions. The excellent concluding summary is followed by a documentary appendix, a bibliography, and an index. Captivated by preconceptions concerning a monolithic Communist world conspiracy, the architects of American policy obviously failed to take into account the political and social realities of the Southeast Asian peoples immediately concerned. America sacrificed the confidence of Vietnamese nationalists by supporting French counterrevolution, and more recently by becoming virtually captive to Ngo Dinh Diem's repressive and faltering regime. Washington similarly failed to champion Indonesian nationalist aspirations until after the exasperating second Dutch police action of 1948 and only decided to counsel Dutch withdrawal from Irian after Sukarno had solicited massive Soviet military aid. Secretary Dulles' grant of military aid to Pakistan ignored inexcusably the political implications of such action, and the permitting of American arms from Formosa to reach Kuomintang rebels in Burma was equally blind. The United States backed a Right-wing military coup in Laos only to discover in the end that the well-equipped army lacked the will to fight and that financial aid gravitated into official pockets. Clubb's closely reasoned conclusions argue that American objectives can probably best be achieved by fashioning a broad neutralized

zone in Southeast Asia and by putting emphasis on the United Nations to provide collective security. Economic and technical aid should also be channeled through a multilateral agency like the Colombo Plan, which the Soviet Union could be invited to join. Overt military aid must be subordinated to a policy of strengthening popular civilian regimes. Ngo Dinh Diem's government, if refusing to reform, should be abandoned before its inevitable debacle in favor of a negotiated compromise settlement for all Vietnam, engineered by the Geneva settlement sponsors or by the United Nations. Clubb's account is somewhat deficient as objective history because it argues a thesis. The book tends at times to credit newspaper reports uncritically and operates within a too-restricted frame of reference. Part of the difficulty lay in American unfamiliarity with the local scene and with the Europe-oriented viewpoint of ranking officers of the State Department, who had to deal in Washington with representatives of De Gaulle and the Dutch. After 1949 the Department's Far East Policy Division itself was denuded of many of its abler officers, including the elder Clubb, by the Dulles purge. But this book is quite properly concerned with what the United States should do now, and Clubb makes a convincing case for a drastic change.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

AMERICAS

THE SOCIAL STUDIES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By *Bernard Berelson et al.* [Sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Council for the Social Studies.] (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1962. Pp. xii, 303. \$2.40.) This collection of essays is intended as a necessary early step toward a comprehensive reorganization of the social studies program in the schools. A historian, a geographer, a political scientist, an economist, a cultural anthropologist, a sociologist, a psychologist, and specialists in Asian and East European area studies, each defines that minimum content and methodology of his discipline with which he believes every school child should be acquainted before high school graduation. The essays, together with an introduction by Bernard Berelson and an "afterword" by Lewis Paul Todd, thus mark out the inner limits of an ideal social studies program. The writers do not, however, suggest detailed courses, but rather strive to eliminate entrenched misconceptions and to provide sound bases for "responsible discussion" among those who will later work out school curriculums. The book reflects, nevertheless, recently renewed awareness among scholars in all fields that they must collaborate with school people in the production of plans and materials for the instruction of children of every age if schools are to fulfill their responsibilities. One running argument among the essayists should command the special attention of historians. Joseph R. Strayer's chapter on "History" admits that besides history, "Some courses that draw more heavily on the methods of the other social sciences are necessary," but he argues for giving history "a large part of the burden of providing students with the necessary understanding, information, attitudes, and skills" which the social sciences are expected to inculcate. The other writers, not otherwise altogether agreed among themselves, but all drawing frequently upon historical data, repeatedly protest that their disciplines cannot be properly taught by historically trained teachers conducting courses labeled "history." This interdisciplinary difference of opinion requires thoughtful resolution before the hoped for reform can come about.

Roland Park Country School, Baltimore, Maryland

MARGARETA FAISSLER

CONCISE DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN HISTORY. Advisory Editor, *Thomas C. Cochran*. Editor, *Wayne Andrews*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1962. Pp. viii,

1156. \$19.50.) In 1940, under the editorship of James Truslow Adams, five volumes of the *Dictionary of American History* were published. In 1961 these were supplemented by a sixth volume to bring the publication up to date. The present large book, with pages of double columns, is a reduced version of the earlier work. Aided by a staff of over a hundred, the editors have excised or concised the thousands of articles appearing in the original. In the process of selection those articles believed to be "basic" were, naturally, retained as were those adjudged "useful," although in condensed form. Some articles represent a commendable regrouping of materials. Thus "Confederate States of America" now includes topics on blockade, financial policies, judicial system, prisons, and so forth, all of which had been separately treated in the original. The omissions are occasionally surprising. "Jacksonian Democracy" is in the index and is referred to in several places, but no article is devoted to it. Are the editors unconvinced of its existence? On the other hand lengthy, important articles, on labor, education, the American Revolution, are preserved intact in this volume. Obviously much had to go. A reader must look elsewhere now to find out what "Dark Horse" means. And can it be that "Dollar a Year Man," formerly in the 1940 volume, is the victim of inflation? There is much that remains in this *Concise Dictionary of American History* to make it a useful and, generally, authoritative reference work.

City College of New York

MICHAEL KRAUS

THE GOLDEN ROAD: THE STORY OF CALIFORNIA'S SPANISH MISSION TRAIL. By *Felix Riesenbergh, Jr.* [The American Trails Series.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1962. Pp. 315. \$6.95.) This is a lighthearted narrative history of the California coast between San Diego and San Francisco since prehistoric times. The author, who was a newspaperman and writer of children's stories and popular historical narratives, describes the development of the road paralleling the shore line from aboriginal trail to motor freeway. He narrates the story of explorers, the Franciscan missions, the ranchos, the Mexican War, the gold rush, highwaymen, the coastal stages, tourists, and finally the era of the automobile and of metropolitan California. Picturesque personalities and colorful events receive major emphasis. Riesenbergh's notes and bibliography reflect wide reading of printed sources and secondary accounts although there are important omissions. Citations in the notes are not exact, and there are numerous errors here as well as in the text itself. The book is illustrated by amusing pen sketches and a decorative but inaccurate map. Riesenbergh tells the story well, includes much sound historical fact and a good many legends, and has written a most acceptable handbook for the casual tourist though the serious student will not find much of importance in it.

Pomona College

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

NEW MEXICO: A HISTORY OF FOUR CENTURIES. By *Warren A. Beck.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 363. \$5.95.) A standard history of New Mexico has long been needed. The early works of Twitchell and his contemporaries, inadequate in the first place, have long been outdated. Frank Reeve's scholarly history is a subscription publication not generally available. Paul Horgan's *Great River* is mainly a literary interpretation that does not fall in the category here considered. Professor Beck has attempted to fill the need. *New Mexico* is a one-volume survey of the state's four-century history. The casual reader will learn much from it, but one who expects more than a superficial glimpse of New Mexico's past will be disappointed. The book is based largely on secondary and often poorly chosen sources. The footnotes and bibliography are heavy with master's theses and doctoral dissertations and with Bancroft, but such fundamental works as Lansing Bloom's study of New Mexico under Mexican rule and Reeve's series of articles on Indian affairs are notably absent. The

chapters dealing with the twentieth century emerge with the greatest strength, the Spanish era ranking next, and the territorial period running a poor third. Territorial politics rate only incidental mention as part of discussions of other matters. The chapter on the Indian menace, an enormously significant phase of New Mexico history, exhibits little understanding of the problem and is inaccurate in particulars. The colonial and territorial chapters are weakened by deferring consideration of mining, stock raising, and transportation, all vital forces in these periods, until chapters concerned primarily with the twentieth century. One may question, too, the order of significance that assigns seven pages to the Lincoln County cattlemen's war as against five to the American conquest of 1846 and four to the Coronado expedition. And finally, the author approaches the land and its people with a lack of sympathy that tends to inhibit a true understanding of its history. New Mexico's past offers a depth and a diversity found in the histories of few western states. Beck has succeeded in capturing much of the diversity, but he has failed to penetrate the depth.

National Park Service

ROBERT M. UTLEY

AMERICAN INDIANS. By *William T. Hagan*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. vi, 190. \$1.75.) William T. Hagan's study of the American Indians, issued in hard cover in 1961 by the University of Chicago Press in its "Chicago History of American Civilization" series, edited by Daniel J. Boorstin, is now available in paperback form. It is a summary of Indian-white relations from colonial times to the present and must of necessity skim the surface of the various facets of that relationship. The task is accomplished with ease and skill. The narrative is simple and direct and is relieved by a gentle sarcasm directed at the all too frequent hypocrisy and blindness of the "civilizing" race, and by a resigned sympathy for the unhappy objects of the white man's policy. Hagan sticks to the bonds of war, trade, mission work, and governmental relations in his narration, neither delving into Indian culture as such, nor into white. Nor is his study philosophical or theoretical. The only philosophy emerging from the narration is that anyone who was Indian during the course of American history chose the wrong side. Excellent lists of suggested reading accompany each chapter, and there is a useful listing of important dates. The illustrations, all photographs, are drawn almost entirely from the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution and suggest a too-hasty response to an editorial demand. Hagan, currently president of the American Indian Ethnohistoric Conference, has provided a useful handbook for the student of Indian-white relations in the United States.

Smithsonian Institution

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF RELIGION IN AMERICA. By *Edwin Scott Gaustad*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1962. Pp. xii, 179. \$8.95.) Apparently taking his cue from Charles O. Paullin's monumental *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, Professor Gaustad has assembled an attractive, interesting, and useful reference work on the development of American churches. Part I includes sketches of the major religious bodies of the colonial period, with maps showing the location of various congregations in 1650 and 1750. (Paullin supplies comparable maps for 1775, 1860, and 1890.) Part II deals with the growth of the colonial and larger noncolonial bodies from 1800 to 1960, with maps for 1850 and 1950. Part III presents similar data for smaller and more recent religious groups. Part IV concerns religion among the Indians, the Negroes, the Jews, and in Alaska and Hawaii. The work is rounded out with a variety of charts, graphs, tables, indexes, and a large colored fold out map showing the predominant religious group in every county of the United States. A list of sources accom-

panies the section on each of the religious bodies discussed, thus providing a comprehensive bibliography of American church history. The text is both scholarly and lively, the charts and maps are well done, and the book has been handsomely produced by the publishers. It should be widely consulted.

Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

WILLIAM PENN'S "HOLY EXPERIMENT": THE FOUNDING OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1681-1701. By *Edwin B. Bronner*. (New York: Columbia University Press for Temple University. 1962. Pp. 306. \$6.00.) If anyone deludes himself that all the major work in American colonial history has been done, let him try to cite a single satisfactory treatment of Pennsylvania's first century, or, failing that, a half-dozen definitive studies of shorter periods or particular problems. Possibly it could be done for Virginia or Massachusetts, but not for Pennsylvania. (Could it be done for Rhode Island, New York, Maryland, the Carolinas?) Yet from any viewpoint Pennsylvania was, one supposes, a major colony. The chief worth of Mr. Bronner's book lies here: it is a solid, judicious, scholarly narrative and analysis of the political history of the Quaker province in its critical first two decades. It is a tangled history, often obscure from want of evidence. Yet Bronner makes it as clear as possible. He moves from the pioneering days through the growing pains of the later 1680's, the political and religious conflicts of the early 1690's, the royal government interlude from 1693 to 1695, the uncertainties of Governor William Markham's administration, to Penn's final return, when he found his province a flourishing plantation but hardly any longer a "holy experiment." He shows how the Assembly, initially almost impotent, grew in power until by 1696 it was already equal in authority with the Council. He also shows how Penn's long absence weakened his prestige, made him merely "a figure in the distance who wrote letters and tried to collect quitrents." Being a Quaker and an idealist, Bronner understands what the "holy experiment" was intended to be: "a virtuous government and society," founded by virtuous men under divine guidance as an example to the world. Being a historian and a realist, he knows from his sources how many forces, internal and external, frustrated Penn's hopes. Acquisitiveness and selfishness, power seeking and dishonesty are part of the story. Leaders like Thomas Lloyd, of whom historians have had a high opinion, turn out to have been sometimes weak or crafty. Penn himself had of course a dual motive: to launch a "holy experiment" and to reap a large income. Theological quarrels between Friends and George Keith's "Christian Quakers" had political repercussions—more, perhaps, than Bronner acknowledges. Possibly indeed, as Bronner hints, the "holy experiment" was doomed from the start by the colony's situation in the British Empire. In any event, he declares, the "holy experiment" was dead by 1701. Some would say it went on until 1756, though in progressively diminished form. Bronner quotes Penn on the Pennsylvania Friends in 1696: ". . . I will not say they have not their weaknesses; Some may be high, some selfish, Some hott, yet they are a people Called and In some measure Saved by the Lord." Was not Penn right on both points?

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

PENNSYLVANIA: SEED OF A NATION. By *Paul A. W. Wallace*. [Regions of America Book.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1962. Pp. xii, 322. \$6.95.) Pennsylvania exhibits more diversity of geography, of population, of politics, of economy, and of social structure than any of the eastern states. Partly for this reason no satisfactory history of the region exists. Within the last twenty years, however, many monographs about Pennsylvania have been written. Using this recent scholarship and combining it with his own lifelong knowledge of Pennsylvania, Wallace has produced a new synthesis.

His book is brief, but he has selected material so skillfully and written with such sharp imagery that he illustrates the complexities of Pennsylvania's history from the glacial age until the present with remarkable completeness and accuracy. Wallace traces the successive stages of Pennsylvania's development in thirty-three self-contained topical chapters and unifies the whole by interpretation. Extreme diversity, bred of tolerance, free institutions, and rugged terrain, produced a commonwealth that "exhibited a spirit of compromise rather than the all-or-nothing" attitude; Pennsylvania has always moved with the main currents of national development. The author is a literary artist and a careful historian. The reader will soon discover that this book offers not only vivid, down-to-earth writing, but provocative insights, philosophic speculation, and genuine wit.

Pennsylvania State University

PHILIP S. KLEIN

THE OLD POST ROAD: THE STORY OF THE BOSTON POST ROAD. By *Stewart H. Holbrook*. [The American Trails Series.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1962. Pp. 273. \$6.95.) Earlier books by Stewart Holbrook make this volume a familiar friend. Though certainly not the kind of history taught in graduate schools nor written in a style that usually emerges from them, this anecdotal narrative, dressed out in the author's inimitable breezy manner, should find a wide popularity. Nor will the innumerable personal asides, sometimes crotchety but invariably amusing, diminish its appeal. The first third of this handsomely published volume deals with a running commentary on turnpikes, stagecoaches, stage drivers, taverns, and such else as pertain reasonably to the post road. Thereafter the reader is taken mile by mile on a historical travelogue along the various land routes between Boston and New York. It appears there was not one but three post roads from Boston to New Haven, an upper, middle, and lower route, the last itself divided into three alternates. From New Haven to New York there was only one road. En route the reader is regaled by a continuous series of stories about the people and events that made up the post road's three centuries of history. Some are well known; others are less familiar. Side excursions describe chair-making in Collinsville or coach manufacture in Concord though neither place was on the post road. Hartford, which was, seems neglected. How true are all these intriguing vignettes is another matter. Holbrook frequently escapes responsibility by a disarming "or so I was told" afterstatement, but whether they are history or folklore, they are undeniably readable. The material has been gathered chiefly from well-known secondary accounts; even "historical markers" have been exploited for information. The bibliography is not extensive, and one wonders why greater use was not made of the many narratives of travelers, native and foreign, who journeyed over the highway. It would be unfair to say this book is what one reads in the better Sunday newspaper supplements, but it is at times superficial, and it certainly is not the definitive work on the post road. But who shall complain? It reads well and entertains magnificently. Surely history may be permitted on occasion to show her smiling as well as her sterner face.

Boston University

W. S. TRYON

THE INTELLECTUAL VERSUS THE CITY: FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT. By *Morton and Lucia White*. [Publications of the Joint Center for Urban Studies.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and the M.I.T. Press. 1962. Pp. x, 270. \$5.50.) Excerpts from the writings of a score of eminent Americans who in greater or lesser degree deplored the city and city life in the United States supply the basis of this study. From these selections the philosopher and his wife

who prepared this analysis conclude that intellectuals' antiurbanism from the 1780's onward derives from two mutually opposed sources, first from a romanticism, like Emerson's, Hawthorne's, and Melville's, which labeled the city intrinsically evil, and second from a belief exemplified in William Dean Howells', John Dewey's, and Robert Park's works that the American city displayed too little of the urbanity that made Old World cities a major force of civilization. Apart from the interpretation of Jefferson's attitudes, the argument is at once convincing and interesting in so far as it rests on the statements of the individuals the Whites selected as speaking for American intellectuals. The book's great weakness is that it professes to be far more inclusive than it in fact is, for while the authors imply and the title suggests that they have examined the ideas of the leading thinkers of each generation, the list, heavily weighted as it is with men of letters, omits the jurist, the preacher, and, except for passing allusions to Benjamin Franklin, the scientist. In summarizing Jefferson's position, furthermore, the text fails to mention his eagerness to have the new federal capital located in the South, not only because of political prestige but also, as his letters show, because a Virginia or Maryland site would bring to the South merchants, "foreigners, manufacturers and settlers," in short, urban development. It is also disconcerting to have Philadelphia called America's largest city in 1800 and Cincinnati's eight hundred inhabitants multiplied to fifteen thousand. And yet in spite of overstatements, some factual inaccuracies, and disturbing omissions from the ranks of significant American intellectuals, the book is thought provoking and worth reading.

Washington, D. C.

CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN

THE PAPERS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON. Volume XIII. Prepared for publication by *Milton W. Hamilton*. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1962. Pp. xiii, 1026. \$10.00.) At long last, with this thirteenth volume, the monumental publication of *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* draws to a close. Since the first volume was published in 1921, the work has passed through several successive editorial hands and has succeeded, in the face of unusual editorial problems, in maintaining the high and exacting scholarly standards evinced at the start. The result has been a set of volumes of great value. This final volume continues to present material selected on a wide basis—letters to and from Johnson, official documents, and lengthy records of negotiations and conferences with the Indians—and continues its rich contribution to an understanding of the eighteenth-century frontier and its problems. The first twelve volumes in the series comprise two chronological sequences between 1738 and 1788, the last four volumes including material discovered too late for inclusion in the earlier sequence. This latest is a single addenda volume, covering the full range of years from 1738, when Johnson first arrived in the Mohawk Valley, and including not only some additional documents found too late to be included in Volumes IX–XII but some more lengthy documents which it had not seemed feasible to print in the earlier volumes. These include, among others, the journals of Warren Johnson and Robert Rogers, Sir William's record of the Niagara campaign (1759) and his journey to Detroit (1761), and interesting material concerning the building of "Johnson Hall" (1763). A detailed inventory of the furnishings of "Johnson Hall," taken at the time of Sir William's death in 1774, furnishes additional material for a picture of life on this manorial estate. Also included are an essay by Hamilton on the Johnson portraits, which supplements and corrects an earlier account in Volume II; a valuable chronological list of documents printed in all thirteen volumes with page reference for each; and an errata list for Volumes I–XII. A most helpful conclusion to the series, in the form of a complete index volume, is now in preparation as Volume XIV and will probably be published late in 1964.

Dartmouth College

ALLEN R. FOLEY

THE CHEROKEE FRONTIER: CONFLICT AND SURVIVAL, 1740-62. By *David H. Corkran*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 302. \$5.00.) In this excellent study an attempt has been made to interpret the relations of the Cherokee with the English and French from the viewpoint of the Indians rather than primarily from that of the whites. Thus it is a valuable supplement to previous works on the subject, especially since the author has used some sources that had not been used to any extent before. In connection with his analysis of Cherokee factionalism, Corkran develops an interesting theory concerning an explosive aftermath of Sir Alexander Cuming's visit of 1729 and his proclaiming Moytoy of Great Tellico as emperor of the Cherokee Nation. When this selection was at length confirmed in 1738 by the English government at Charleston (then Charlestown), the Great Tellico-Hiwassee group of Overhill towns became strongly pro-English, but those along the Little Tennessee River (then called, as the author neglects to point out, the Tennessee), especially Chota and Tenase, were greatly antagonized since traditionally they were the center of power in the Cherokee Nation. Consequently, under the leadership of Old Hop and the Little Carpenter, the Chota group became anti-English and inclined to intrigue with the French. Later, Moytoy's son and successor lost face, and the English recognized Old Hop as emperor. This in turn antagonized the Great Tellico group and paved the way for their intrigues with the French and also for efforts of the Lower Cherokee towns, in South Carolina, to escape from the domineering control by Chota. According to Corkran, the chief reason for the building of Fort Prince George among the Lower Cherokees in 1753 was to encourage those Indians to adopt an independent policy. This Cherokee factionalism, as the author points out, was only one of many factors, including dissatisfaction with trade conditions, that interfered with English efforts to obtain Cherokee aid against the French and contributed to the outbreak of the Cherokee War and the massacre at Fort Loudoun, but other writers have given it inadequate consideration. The author's treatment of the subjects of Fort Loudoun and the Cherokee War is the most complete I have seen. The book is well illustrated and includes two helpful maps (although some rivers are erroneously located) and a well-annotated bibliography.

STANLEY J. FOLMSBEE

University of Tennessee

WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *William M. Dabney* and *Marion Dargan*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 225. \$5.00.) This biographical study of William Henry Drayton is somewhat unusual in that it was begun by one historian, Marion Dargan, and completed by another, William M. Dabney. The result is an interesting book about one of the most fascinating characters in the second rank of the gallery of revolutionary figures. Dabney should be commended for his part in the making of it. Had not Drayton died at the age of thirty-seven, he would have been conspicuous in the revolutionary generation. As it was, an ardent and effective patriot leader in the early years of the War of Independence, he is chiefly remembered in South Carolina. Born into its aristocracy, he was a nephew of Lieutenant Governor William Bull II, inherited some money, married more, and was educated at Westminster and Balliol College. He was vain and supercilious, set himself well above common folk, and might well have been a Tory, like his distinguished uncle. Moreover, he seemed ardently committed to the crown in his twenties, for he openly and boldly censured nonimportation and its champions in South Carolina in 1769 in his letters to the press of "Freeman." In consequence he was petted in London by George III and his friends, but Drayton received no important concrete reward from them. By 1774 he had become a surprisingly vigorous defender of American rights. During the years 1775-1776, as a member of the South Carolina Provincial Congress and several of its committees, he took the lead in harassing Tories and pre-

paring for war, and he was one of the first among the prominent patriots in the South to demand independence. In the closing years of his life he was a member of the Continental Congress and a champion of southern versus northern interests. A very interesting question is: why did Drayton become a flaming patriot? The answer may be in his pride, wounded by British neglect of him, in economic considerations, in political principle, or in some combination thereof. Dabney offers evidence toward an answer, but properly refrains from giving a precise judgment since the evidence is conflicting and scanty. There can be no question that Drayton was courageous, able, and energetic, and no doubt that he powerfully stimulated South Carolina toward independence. Accordingly, this first detailed study of his career, not likely soon to be superseded, is a valuable one.

Duke University

JOHN R. ALDEN

WILLIAM PLUMER OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1759-1850. By *Lynn W. Turner*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1962. Pp. 366. \$7.50.) We know too little about the third-rate political figures of the past. Such a man was William Plumer of New Hampshire: lawyer, politician, senator, and governor. Known as the only presidential elector to vote against James Monroe in 1820, Plumer was extremely active in local and state political circles, served as United States senator during a difficult period, fought to ratify the federal Constitution, led in writing New Hampshire's constitution of 1791-1792, and successfully made the shift from Federalist to Jeffersonian. Plumer lacked strong qualities of leadership, was often partisan and petty in his judgments, and skated over thin ice during the Federalist "treason" of 1804. Unlike most figures of comparable importance (or lack of it), Plumer left voluminous records: the New Hampshire State Library, the New Hampshire Historical Society Library, and the Library of Congress all contain letters and manuscripts. Plumer himself compiled and wrote hundreds of pages of journal, diary, and manuscript record. He also wrote hundreds of newspaper essays. In 1856 William Plumer, Jr., published a biography of his father. For the next century the manuscripts waited for a competent and dedicated biographer. Such a person has appeared in President Turner of Otterbein College. The mass of manuscript material has been carefully and intelligently used. The author demonstrates competency both in the local sources of New Hampshire's history and in the national political scene at the turn of the century. This volume is especially good for its analysis of Federalist tactics and mistakes in New Hampshire, and for the secession "plot" of 1804. Plumer's often paradoxical personality is soundly portrayed; his political switch from die-hard Federalist to enthusiastic Jeffersonian is analyzed and explained; his mistakes and weaknesses are treated openly. This biography fills a real need; indispensable to a study of New Hampshire's past, it has significance for the national scene during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

State University of New York, Cortland

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

THE KIWAS. By *Mildred P. Mayhall*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 63.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1962. Pp. xviii, 315. \$5.95.) Mildred Mayhall has accepted a very difficult challenge in attempting to write an ethnohistory of the warlike Kiowa tribe of the southern Plains. Unfortunately, the wealth of accounts of early traders, travelers, and explorers, which enrich the history of many other Plains Indian tribes simply does not exist for the Kiowa. There is, in fact, no well-rounded contemporary description of Kiowa culture prior to the extermination of the buffalo in the 1870's in the extensive literature on the Great Plains. As early as 1682 La Salle heard of the Kiowa (under the name "Manrhoats") as well-mounted In-

dians on the distant plains who were actively trading horses from the Spanish Southwest to the tribes of the Missouri Valley. Yet references to the Kiowa are few and fragmentary in the published writings of the subsequent 150 years. In her chapter on Kiowa culture of the period 1775-1875 the author characterizes these people as a typical Plains Indian tribe. As have many writers before her, she emphasizes the importance of the acquisition of horses to the flowering of Plains Indian culture in the historic period, but she does not define the role of the Kiowa, one of the first tribes of the region to acquire horses, in the development of this culture. Her descriptions of Kiowa culture during that century appear to be both superficial and static. Surely prolonged contacts with Texans and Mexicans must have wrought significant changes in Kiowa culture such as were not common to the tribes living on the Plains farther north who were subjected to different influences from competing British and American traders. The Kiowa are best remembered in western history for their savage opposition to the expansion of white trade and settlement during the four decades prior to their pacification by the army in 1875. The author chronicles the succession of actions in which the Kiowa fought, but she fails to provide an adequate description of Kiowa methods of fighting. One does not find in this book the keen insights on Kiowa warfare that appear in the writings of Colonel Wilbur S. Nye. Nor does one find the perceptive understanding of the dynamics of Kiowa culture that pervades Alice Marriott's *Ten Grandmothers*. It would appear that Nye and Miss Marriott, by approaching their study of the Kiowa through prolonged interviews with elderly members of that tribe, acquired a feeling for Kiowa culture that eluded Mrs. Mayhall in her reliance upon the literature for her basic data.

Smithsonian Institution

JOHN C. EWERS

VOM WERDEN EINER NATION: SECHS KAPITEL AUS DER AMERIKANISCHEN GESCHICHTE. By *Bernhard Goldschmidt*. (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag. 1961. Pp. 133. DM 7.80.) The author premises the need for this book on his belief that "the limited knowledge of the development and nature of the North American states has cost Germany total defeat in two unnecessary wars." Though the knowledge of the Germans about everything American has subsequently been broadened and deepened, the sources have been accounts of recent travelers rather than portrayals of America based on historical research, so necessary for a full understanding of the present-day United States. The six chapters of the book, originally given as lectures, are presented here in expanded form so that they may reach a larger audience, not as the work of a historian or specialist but as pleasant reading. The chapters are entitled: "Alexander Hamilton and the American Constitution," "An Unknown War [War of 1812]," "Andrew Jackson and His Time," "The Settlement of the West," "Abraham Lincoln," and "Gettysburg and Königgrätz"; the leitmotiv is the presentation of the traditions and sources of national development in order that the true character of the United States may be understood. Goldschmidt concludes from the history of the United States Constitution that "in the long run only conservative people fare well." He finds that Hamiltonianism has won out over Jeffersonianism. He discerns no distinction between Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy. The author sought parallels between episodes in United States and German history, as in the unification of the two nations, which in each case was accomplished through final resort to "Blut und Eisen." The parallel attempted between Gettysburg and Königgrätz is even more strained. The American national characteristics seen stemming from the influence of the frontier are "the relentless exploitation of opportunity," "the worship of success," "the overvaluation of the material above the intellectual and artistic values," "imperturbable optimism," "hasty decision," and "a strong individualism which often culminates in lawlessness."

Haile Sellassie University

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE

RELIGION AND THE PRESIDENCY: A RECURRING AMERICAN PROBLEM. By *Berton Dulce* and *Edward J. Richter*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1962. Pp. x, 245. \$6.00.) The subtitle of *Religion and the Presidency* is *A Recurring American Problem*. Because of the continuing battle against bigotry in politics the authors used eight brief chapters, about half of the book, to discuss this aspect of the elections of Jefferson, Jackson, Polk, Pierce, Hayes, Cleveland, Wilson, and Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt. No new research is evident. Taking up the significant election of 1928, the authors depart from a pattern of selecting chapter titles referring to the winners to discuss Alfred E. Smith as "A New Kind of Candidate." While there is no evidence that they used Hoover's *Memoirs* or Edmund Moore's *A Catholic Runs for President*, they accept the viewpoint that 1928 was not a Democratic year and that factors other than Smith's Roman Catholic affiliation caused his defeat. But in these chapters the authors overlook the import of evidence that contradicts another major thesis: namely, "it has taken 184 years, 4 months, and 4 days after the founding of our country to elect a 'minority' President." Not from bigotry, but from bias, they overlooked the fact that Herbert Hoover, being a Quaker, was a "minority" President if the word relates to the numerical membership of a particular church group. Furthermore, if Jefferson and John Adams be considered deists and John Q. Adams a Unitarian, these were definitely "minority" victors. The word "minority" is too narrowly construed to be strictly accurate when it is used to mean only Catholic versus Protestant. Forty million American Roman Catholics should not be thought of as a "minority" Christian group in 1960. The half of the book dealing with Kennedy's courageous preconvention tactics, the immediate reactions to his nomination including the "Washington Manifesto," Kennedy's conference with the Ministerial Association of Greater Houston, and the campaign windup make an excellent monograph which could stand alone as a fine job of reporting, using the religious and secular press. The authors do not record any questioning of Nixon's difficulty as a religious "minority" candidate in harmonizing a potential role as commander in chief with the traditional pacifism of his Quaker faith. The importance of the urban vote is stressed. That no religious group, either Jewish, Catholic, Baptist, or Methodist, voted as a bloc is heartening for the future of American democracy. It was Nixon, of a "minority" Christian faith, who lost in 1960, although not simply for his religious affiliation.

University of Texas

ROBERT C. COTNER

WE THE WOMEN: CAREER FIRSTS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA. By *Madeleine B. Stern*. (New York: Schulte Publishing Company. 1963. Pp. x, 403. \$7.95.) Miss Stern, who has three full-length biographies of women to her credit, has in *We the Women* followed the pattern of her *Imprints on History: Book Publishers and American Frontiers* (1956): that of a series of biographic sketches with a common theme. *We the Women* presents fourteen feminine "firsts" in various nineteenth-century American fields. The author selected these fourteen not only for their precedent shattering accomplishments, "but because their lives were exciting and their struggles dramatic." All of them, certainly, were veritable dynamos; some achieved success in more than one field. The portraits vary considerably in depth and richness, a difference that stems from variations in sources. Where they are numerous, the women stand forth convincingly. Even in these superior sketches, however, one learns little or nothing about possible motivations that impelled the women to disregard the mores of their period for unconventional goals. As is to be expected in such a series, the author is always the enthusiast, sometimes even the cheerleader who excitedly guides the reader from victory to victory. The reader is likely, however, to forgive the somewhat

breathless tone in admiration of the genuinely remarkable feats of these "firsts," as, for example, that of Belva Ann Lockwood, who after a five-year struggle succeeded in lobbying a bill through Congress permitting women lawyers to appear before the federal courts. Miss Stern writes smoothly and colorfully, but sometimes unwittingly permits color to impede clarity. She has ferreted out materials with scholarly zeal; her notes on sources constitute almost a quarter of the book. These notes are organized at the back according to chapters, but, quite irritatingly, there is no footnoting to indicate connections between the sources and the generalizations or quotations. It is difficult to understand why the author, after all her painstaking research, failed to take this final simple step toward scholarly status, unless it was at her publisher's behest. Yet the general reader who is undismayed by the eighty pages on sources would scarcely balk at footnote numbers in considering a purchase. The lack is especially regrettable in view of the book's real merit, not only in preserving the accomplishments of the fourteen, most of whom might otherwise have remained in oblivion, but in presenting such interesting side lights on nineteenth-century America as the development of original design in interior decoration, beginnings in home economics, progress in dentistry, early struggles of Antioch College, and intimate glimpses of Horace Mann.

Montgomery Junior College

MARY R. DEARING

AMERICAN RAILROADS. By *John F. Stover*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. x, 302. \$1.95.) The editor's preface to this book refers to it as a "factual guide." As such, it lays no claim to presenting new information but only to summarizing the old. If its brief summation leaves the reader's thirst for knowledge unslaked, he can supplement the story to any extent desired from the appended ten-page list of suggested reading. In the text he will not travel uncharted paths or encounter any novelties or heterodoxies. The author begins by outlining the familiar story of railroad building, in quest of trade to the Mississippi Valley by the Atlantic coast cities, deprived of foreign commerce by the War of 1812. He accepts the orthodox, but (to me) dubious, view that among the valuable services rendered by the completed northern lines in the following Civil War was that of cementing the loyalty of the Northwest to the Union. The federal government was by this time sufficiently aware of the importance of railroads to impose on the northern lines a mild control and to direct against the southern lines an attack that reduced them to shambles. After the war the rebuilding of the southern roads shared the spotlight with the construction of the transcontinental roads to the Pacific, both tasks being completed to the accompaniment of corruption and malpractice so raucous as to result ultimately in Granger laws, federal regulation, and a public distrust that a century of subsequent good behavior has been unable to eradicate. It is shown that the huge government subsidies to the transcontinental lines were more than repaid by services rendered in the two world wars. In both these wars the railroads chafed and prospered under government control, but since that time their history has been one of constant decline because of automobile competition and the strait jacket of federal regulation. I think that Professor Stover's discussion of southern railroad building after the Civil War is inadequate. He does not mention the Cincinnati Southern, the East Coast of Florida, or the extension of the Chesapeake and Ohio, and the Louisville and Nashville. Presumably his neglect of this period is because its railroad history has not yet been written. In my opinion, this is the one last phase of our railroad history still to be explored. It is to be hoped that someday our historians will quit rattling the dry bones of slavery and plantations long enough to explore it. A particularly interesting and valuable feature of the book is the running account of railroad improvements from the invention of the T rail

to adoption of "piggy-backs." The discussion of the decline of the railroads is both lucid and comprehensive.

Tallahassee, Florida

R. S. COTTERILL

THE CHOLERA YEARS: THE UNITED STATES IN 1832, 1849, AND 1866. By *Charles E. Rosenberg*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. x, 257. \$5.95.) With vaccination drastically reducing the threat of smallpox, and yellow fever gradually diminishing in the northern cities, only one epidemic disease, Asiatic cholera, remained in the nineteenth century to sweep with explosive force throughout the entire North American region. But three times in the course of the century this dreadful contagion spread like wildfire along the waterways of the United States, bringing horror and death to almost every major city. Charles E. Rosenberg has examined an immense amount of source material and could have written two volumes cataloguing the pathways of these epidemics. Wisely he has chosen to present the essential facts and to relate his topic to the social and intellectual development of America. Using the successive epidemics as a focal point, he shows the impact of science and urbanization upon religious thought, social attitudes, governmental institutions, and the theory and practice of medicine. The first outbreak, which struck in 1832, for example, was almost universally accepted as an expression of God's will. Decent, respectable, God-fearing citizens noted with some satisfaction that the ignorant, dirty, and ungodly poor were the chief victims. As the humanitarian spirit of the age gradually developed, there was a dawning recognition that the relationship between a brutalized people and teeming slums was a two-way proposition; the slums, in fact, engendered depraved and dissolute tenants. Thus it was that when the final epidemic struck, American reaction was vastly different from what it had been thirty-four years earlier. In discussing the state of medical theory and practice, Rosenberg shows a remarkable grasp of the field. The period of his study was one when the status of the medical profession had reached its lowest point, but as he shows, the pragmatism and skepticism that helped to undermine its position in these years ultimately provided the means for raising the profession to new heights. *The Cholera Years* is a thorough, exhaustive, and intelligent study.

University of Pittsburgh

JOHN DUFFY

CHARLES V. CHAPIN AND THE PUBLIC HEALTH MOVEMENT. By *James H. Casedy*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 310. \$5.75.) In this concise and well-written biography the author has not only described and evaluated the lifework and contributions of Dr. Charles Value Chapin, but he has also clearly delineated the major problems and stages in the evolution of public health theory and practice. Further, he has touched upon the relationship of public health to other aspects of change on the American scene in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: immigration, urbanization, industrialization, and the resulting tension between laissez faire social Darwinism and the emerging view of government as the active agent for community welfare in an increasingly interdependent society. Chapin's life span (1856-1941) was contemporaneous with revolutionary changes in medicine, and Chapin himself was influential in bringing about the application of bacteriological and epidemiological knowledge and scientific and statistical methods to public health practice. Physician, sanitarian, epidemiologist, innovator, propagandist, vital statistician, and administrator during a forty-eight-year period as City Health Superintendent in Providence, Rhode Island, Chapin earned for himself an outstanding reputation in American and European public health circles. His work in Providence served as a model for health officials elsewhere. His three major publications had an unparalleled influence in shaping the philosophy and methodology of the public health movement: *Municipal*

Sanitation in the United States (1901); *The Sources and Modes of Infection* (1910); and his comprehensive *Report* on state health activities (1916). Ever the critical, painstaking scientist, Chapin was also strongly motivated by a humanitarian concern for his fellow man and the general welfare. Thoroughly documented and including an extensive bibliography, Cassedy's work demonstrates sound scholarship and excellent organization of a difficult, many-faceted subject. The book should be of interest to all those concerned with late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American history and those dealing specifically with public health and its history. Indirectly, it should stimulate some new lines of inquiry into the age of reform and into local and state public health history.

Louisiana State University

JO ANN CARRIGAN

GUIDE TO FEDERAL ARCHIVES RELATING TO THE CIVIL WAR. By *Kenneth W. Munden* and *Henry Putney Beers*. [National Archives Publication Number 63-1.] (Washington, D. C.: National Archives, 1962. Pp. x, 721. \$3.00.) This masterly bibliography is at once an embarrassment and a challenge to the historian of the Civil War. The embarrassment derives from its quiet reminder that serious students so rarely use the vast treasures of the National Archives, in contrast to the overworked manuscript collections of the Library of Congress. The challenge springs from the fact that, thanks to the arduous labor of Kenneth W. Munden and Henry Putney Beers, we are for the first time able to learn just what the National Archives contains. Their *Guide to Federal Archives Relating to the Civil War* is a model bibliography. In preparing this volume, the authors have fortunately construed their mandate broadly. Since judicial decisions, pension and other claims, and diplomatic negotiations rising out of the war continued to occupy the attention of the national government down to the twentieth century—Delaware did not ratify the Thirteenth Amendment until 1901—they have wisely extended their inventories far beyond the 1861–1865 years, and in consequence their bibliography is almost as useful to students of the Reconstruction period as to those of the war itself. Fortunately, too, Munden and Beers have not simply given us a list of records. For each agency of the government, Congress, the courts, the presidency, the executive departments, the miscellaneous agencies, whose records they have inventoried, they have supplied a brief historical introduction, a concise statement as to its personnel and functions during the war, and a selective bibliography. As a result, their book is not merely a bibliography but the best account we have of the structure and operations of the federal government in the 1860's. Then they describe the holdings of the National Archives and other federal record centers for each of these agencies, giving both detailed illustrations and general commentary. It has not always been possible to indicate the size of these holdings, but the authors have helpfully indicated which of the documents are available in the serial set and in other government publications. Where such information is pertinent, they have also listed the location of unpublished materials in other libraries. And, finally, they have prepared an elaborate and accurate index, which includes subjects and names. In short, this is for the research historian the most useful book yet to emerge from the Civil War centennial observances. The publication of its companion volume, "Guide to the Archives of the Government of the Confederate States of America," is eagerly awaited.

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID DONALD

GENERAL LEONIDAS POLK, C.S.A.: THE FIGHTING BISHOP. By *Joseph H. Parks*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962. Pp. 408. \$7.50.) Parks has prepared this biography of Leonidas Polk with careful research, adequate documentation, and thoughtful interpretation of the subject and

historical events. As the title indicates, the author has focused on the military career of Polk and has achieved for his subject a satisfactory stature. Parks has quitted himself well in the task that was poorly accomplished earlier by Polk's son. This is the author's fourth contribution to the "Southern Biography Series," now numbering seventeen volumes. Born in 1806 into the comfortable society of North Carolina, Polk entered West Point at the age of seventeen. Influenced by the chaplain of the academy, Polk after graduation forsook a military life and entered Virginia Theological Seminary to prepare himself for the Episcopal ministry. At the age of thirty-two he was chosen missionary bishop of the Southwest and a few years later made bishop of Louisiana. Attempting to be both planter and bishop, he failed miserably in the first role and succeeded highly as a churchman and educator. Firmly convinced of the rightness of the southern cause and of his duty in its behalf, Polk accepted an appointment as a major general in the Army of the Confederacy. With the approval of the church's hierarchy and his own diocese, the bishop-general "buckled the sword over the gown" and commanded forces in the Battles of Columbus, Shiloh, Perryville, Stone's River, and Chickamauga after which he was removed for dilatoriness by General Braxton Bragg. President Davis then assigned Polk to the command of a department in Mississippi. While on an inspection tour, Polk was killed by a sniper on Pine Mountain near Marietta, Georgia, on June 14, 1864. Although not great in comparison with some southern generals, he was "a competent corps commander." Death had removed a devout rebel whose loyalties would have given little assistance to the reunion of factions in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Agnes Scott College WALTER B. POSEY

BIOGRAPHY OF A BUSINESSMAN: HENRY W. SAGE, 1814-1897. By *Anita Shafer Goodstein*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 279. \$5.75.) The single-minded pursuit of material success in nineteenth-century America hardened and narrowed its devotees. At the age of twenty-one, Henry W. Sage planned after six years to stop working and spend his time "in search of knowledge and wisdom." The depression years from 1837 to 1843 ended his hope for quick wealth and confirmed his addiction to business. Ultimately, "slaughtering timber," cutting with no regard to future growth, made Sage rich. As an investor in other activities, he did not have marked ability. Although at the age of sixty-one he became chairman of the trustees of Cornell University, it does not appear that he ever devoted himself to the search for knowledge. Anita Shafer Goodstein has written a penetrating and generally excellent biography of this representative of one type of nineteenth-century businessman. A diary kept by Sage during his twenty-first and twenty-second years and the letters of his uncles for whom Sage worked give unusual insight into the character of this young American. He was self-made in that he had to prove to his uncles that he had ability. Once this was done he always had a degree of security against failure, which allowed him to be bold in his risk taking. Dr. Goodstein ably presents the ambiguities and probabilities in Sage's motivation, showing the mixtures of piety and ambition, insecurity and aggressiveness, respect for learning and contempt for its possessors. Without rhetorical condemnation she brings out the frequently unhappy consequences of his twenty-two-year rule of Cornell. The book is better on Sage as a person than on his business operations. Always operating in partnerships, he was never compelled to create extensive records. It is fortunate that so much remains.

University of Pennsylvania THOMAS C. COCHRAN

ADOLPH SUTRO: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Robert E. Stewart, Jr.*, and *Mary Frances Stewart*. (Berkeley, Calif.: Howell-North. 1962. Pp. xviii, 243. \$6.00.) Although all major works on Nevada's silver age and on the history of San Francisco refer to the

career of Adolph Sutro, this is the first full-length study of him. Fortunately, he saved most of his public and private papers, as if to help biographers. Consequently, the Stewarts required a decade of research, principally in the Bancroft and Huntington Libraries, the University of San Francisco, and the California Historical Society. Born of a German-Jewish family, Sutro had demonstrated before he was twenty his talents in technology and finance. He came to America during the gold rush and by 1860 owned three tobacco stores in San Francisco. That year Sutro migrated to Washoe, soon operated a stamp mill, and later dealt in mining stock. He realized that a four-mile tunnel to drain the Comstock mines could also economically bring in supplies and carry out ore. Here, the Stewarts, like Sutro, are at their best, narrating with insight his planning and excavating of the tunnel, making financial contacts, and establishing relations with the powerful Bank of California. The volume would have been improved by a clearer explanation of Sutro's extraordinary success in winning congressional adoption of the Tunnel Act and the later Tunnel Commission. How did he, a political novice, win the 1894 mayoralty election in San Francisco? At the risk of being sensational, the authors might have clarified the roles of Mrs. Kluge and Mrs. Allen and the litigation following his death. Californians would appreciate a more detailed coverage of Sutro's real-estate transactions and his intellectual pursuits, so briefly treated. Despite some shortcomings, this book corrects misconceptions, for example, that the tunnel was an immense and immediate financial success. As the authors conclude, nearly every San Franciscan was enriched by the philanthropic, cultural, or financial activities of Sutro's later years, the least dramatic but most fruitful of his life. This work is sufficiently short and nontechnical in dealing with economic, legal, political, and technological factors to be popular. For specialists, its virtue is in analyzing Sutro's remarkable career in one volume.

Los Angeles County Museum

JOHN E. BAUR

THE CALIFORNIA TRAIL: AN EPIC WITH MANY HEROES. By *George R. Stewart*. [The American Trails Series.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1962. Pp. 339. \$6.95.) Many books on the history of the West have dealt with the California Trail at paragraph or even chapter length, but this is the first volume to be devoted exclusively to the subject. For over thirty years George R. Stewart has been a student of western migration and in that time has prepared a half-dozen or more historical narratives or novels for publication. The depth of his scholarship and his creative skill in telling a story have earned national and international recognition. This latest book represents a synthesis of all that Stewart has learned on the subject in a lifetime of inquiry. Although the work is not documented, it is obviously based on primary sources such as all the known diaries and reminiscences of those who traveled the route, on newspaper sources, personal letters, and government documents. The author has chosen a chronological organization for his book, devoting one chapter to each year's migration beginning in 1841. The narrative is broken in 1845 to make room for two interchapters. The first of these, "How They Traveled," should be required reading for every student of the West or of transportation because Stewart proves beyond a doubt that much of the information presented in general works on the West, that specialists have been teaching, simply is not borne out by the evidence. The second, "Where They Went," is a masterful essay on historical geography that is meaningful because the author has traversed much of the terrain personally. The resumed narrative moves at an even pace until the year of the gold rush when the humanity and the sources pile so high that a composite rather than an individual picture is depicted. After the rush, the decade of the 1850's is telescoped into a single chapter. Only one disappointing feature has been noted. In his determination not to repeat the material in his worthy study of the Donner

party, *Ordeal by Hunger*, the author has minimized the group's importance to the total story and has referred interested readers to the conclusions of the earlier publication. This latest book will justifiably be acclaimed by both scholar and general reader. McGraw-Hill is to be congratulated on the maps and pen sketches; in fact, the entire format of the book is superb. Stewart's account is destined to become a classic. The history of the California Trail need not be written again.

University of California, Davis

W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

THE GOLDEN FRONTIER: THE RECOLLECTIONS OF HERMAN FRANCIS REINHART, 1851-1869. Edited by *Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.* Foreword by *Nora B. Cunningham*. [Personal Narratives of the West.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1962. Pp. xxii, 353. \$6.00.) This remarkable autobiography describes eighteen years of frontier life as seen by a Jack-of-all-trades. Herman Francis Reinhart, German-born but raised in New York and Illinois, worked as a placer miner, baker, saloonkeeper, bowling alley operator, and squatter in northwestern California and Oregon from 1851 to 1861, then became a teamster hauling to mining camps in Idaho and Montana and railroad camps in Utah. Ultimately he retired to Kansas, where, in the later 1880's, he wrote these extensive, highly specific, and often vivid reminiscences. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., was selected to edit this neglected manuscript. He has done a splendid job of identifying Reinhart's innumerable references to obscure local persons, places, and events. One may wish, however, that Nunis had done even more. Precisely because the narrative is so good, many readers will want a more analytical editorial discussion of the manuscript and the probable conditions under which it was written. Was it really done "in haste from memory without notes"? And the editor might have explained that the first half of Reinhart's journal is actually a description of life in an unusually isolated, retarded mining region—essentially a backwater.

California Institute of Technology

RODMAN W. PAUL

SHELBY M. CULLOM: PRAIRIE STATE REPUBLICAN. By *James W. Neilson*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 51.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1962. Pp. vii, 328. Cloth \$5.50, paper \$4.50.) For more than five decades Shelby M. Cullom was an enigmatic figure in Illinois and national politics. During the Civil War, when Illinois's dashing Republicans like Logan became heroes, Cullom practiced law and advanced politically from Springfield city attorney through membership in the General Assembly to Congress. A Radical Republican during his three terms (1864-1870), his hostility to Mormonism and his inflexibility on civil rights left little mark. His career seemed ended when he failed to secure renomination. Two years later, however, he returned to the Assembly. Later, elected governor, he emerged as a new political personality determined to subordinate his views to those of his party. He displayed the small-town lawyer-banker's hostility to labor, and he appeared to champion agrarian and reform interests by supporting railroad regulation. This was not a paradox for a downstate Republican in 1877. During his second term, Cullom went to the Senate. The most valuable chapters in this book deal with his role in the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Act. Neilson, carefully explaining the conflicting forces that went into the writing of the bill and the complexities of modern railroad rate making, shows how Cullom retained his public image as a reformer while being "educated" by railroad experts. The rest of his life was anticlimactic. He chaired the Committee on Interstate Commerce until the Supreme Court rendered changes in the basic law virtually meaningless. He made a halfhearted effort to secure the presidential nomination in 1896, but remained just another senator. To the anguish of Lodge, who saw him as a nonentity, Cullom's seniority kept him chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee

longer than any other man in history. Wedded to party regularity, Cullom disliked and distrusted the "bigoted morality" of the progressives. In fact, his vote to keep a party regular in the Senate resulted in his defeat in 1912. Although sympathetic to Cullom, the author found the Cullom Papers scanty and the man so much of a Victorian and trimmer that the task of bringing him to life was difficult. But by relying on published diaries, letters, and autobiographies, and on newspapers, Neilson has drawn a clear picture of conservative Republicanism in Illinois. It fits in well with other studies like Current's *Sawyer* and Merrill's *Vilas*. Neilson has made the most of a man who never occupied the center of the stage.

San Diego State College

MARTIN RIDGE

BY SEA AND BY RIVER: THE NAVAL HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Bern Anderson*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1962. Pp. xiv, 303, viii. \$5.95.) Bern Anderson, who served the navy so well as a warrior that it bestowed its laurels upon him, has taken up the pen and joined those who in recent years have belatedly tried to reassess Civil War history and accord a more important role to the action on water. His one-volume study is an analysis of naval operations from the standpoint of political and military tactics and strategy. He treats the navies of both sides, with special attention to purpose and result and to interpretation of the significance of their accomplishments. Battle action is held to a minimum, a designed sacrifice to cause and effect. The author loves his subject. Thoroughly immersed in it, he has done a careful job of research, and the story is told with a minimum of documentation. Perhaps one of the most important contributions is the final chapter, the part of the book in which he assembles his conclusions. It is of value because it bares the opinions of one who has learned what he is writing about both by experience and from historical source. In his tip of the scales he cites the Confederate naval efforts as largely negative, while those of the Union, especially the blockade, are described as the winning factor. Anderson's organization is good, and his interpretation is sound. His thoughts are clearly stated, in sentences that are sharp and shorn of fancy writing. But what he has come up with is another of the many Civil War treatises that must be read through a desire to rehash the subject, or to gain knowledge, rather than for enjoyment. The author says that he "tried to avoid becoming involved in unimportant details." Maybe he went too far in this direction, for, in so doing, he detracted from his book. It lacks the human-interest factor, the appeal that induces the reader to turn to the next page. I must compliment him for his interpretation of history; a student of the subject will have difficulty in finding fault with him in this respect. At the same time, he must be criticized for ignoring the quality that would bring new disciples into his field of study to share appreciatively his carefully weighed thoughts.

Civil War Centennial Commission

VIRGIL CARRINGTON JONES

A DIARY OF BATTLE: THE PERSONAL JOURNALS OF COLONEL CHARLES S. WAINWRIGHT, 1861-1865. Edited by *Allan Nevins*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1962. Pp. xviii, 549. \$8.75.) This diary of Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, commander of the artillery of the First Corps, Army of the Potomac, is one of the most valuable journals of a Union officer that has been published. The diary covers the entire period from the beginning of the Peninsular campaign through Appomattox. Wainwright's assessments of top Federal commanders are sharp and spirited. He thought highest of McClellan, but had a rather low opinion of Lincoln and Stanton. The introductory and connecting passages by editor Allan Nevins contain some errors,

but are adequate. The identifying footnotes are far too few for a journal of this type, but the maps by Rafael Palacios are quite good, as is the index.

Pennsylvania State University

WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

MCCLELLAN, SHERMAN AND GRANT. By *T. Harry Williams*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1962. Pp. 113. \$3.50.) In these three essays (originally the 1962 Brown and Haley Lectures at the University of Puget Sound), Louisiana State's Harry Williams utilizes three Federal generals to develop further two of his theories concerning northern military leadership. One theory is that McClellan, Sherman, and Grant together "show a progression toward the final type of leadership that had to be developed before the war could be won." Williams' second hypothesis is that "the true measurement of a general will be his temperament." He then proceeds to prove his points through individual discussions of the three generals in question. To the narcissistic McClellan, war was a game of limited objectives, leisurely played by professionals. McClellan ultimately failed because he saw military situations not as they were but as he wished them to be. Similarly, the restless Sherman could never quite bring himself to campaign against an enemy army rather than an enemy city. While Sherman did more damage to the Confederacy than McClellan, it remained for another general to bring the southern nation to its knees. That general, of course, was Grant. Quiet and methodical, a man who drank only when lonely, Grant displayed steady improvement in the course of the Civil War. His tactics at Vicksburg are ample proof (to the author) that the wielder of the sledge hammer also had imagination. In conclusion, states Williams, Grant was so complete a general "that his countrymen have never been able to believe he was real." A short bibliographical essay follows this apocalyptic statement. Any disagreement with this study must necessarily be in interpretation. For example, while McClellan in 1862 faced the pride of southern manhood under Lee, Grant two years later confronted a battered foe. The outcome of the Vicksburg campaign was as attributable to the incompetence of Confederate leadership as it was to any brilliance of northern strategy. And Sherman hardly merits criticism for choosing to father the urban renewal program in lieu of chasing after a plaintive John Hood. These points notwithstanding, Williams has provided a valuable appendix to his classic study *Lincoln and His Generals* as well as new fuel for the fires of Civil War debates.

George Washington University

JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL IN AMERICA. By *Samuel Bernstein*. (New York: Augustus M. Kelley. 1962. Pp. vii, 312. \$10.00.) Most historians have at least a passing acquaintance with the International Workingmen's Association, better known as the First International. But how many of them could recall readily that the headquarters of the IWA was finally established in the United States? The story of the founding of the International, the history of its activities both in Europe and in the United States, and finally the account of its demise at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia are all amply related in Bernstein's study. The International was established in London in 1864 to promote the unification of European workers. A catchall organization, its membership included not only Marxian socialists but also bourgeois reformers, Bakuninist anarchists, and followers of Blanqui. Doctrinal differences among the internationalists became starkly apparent during the Paris Commune, and by 1872 the IWA was in danger of falling under anarchist control. To prevent this situation from materializing, Marx and Engels maneuvered the transference of its headquarters from Europe to New York. While Marx justified the move on the grounds that the United States was "preeminently becoming the land of the workers," neither he nor Engels had any real desire that the International should long survive overseas.

Under the custodianship of Marx's devoted follower, Friedrich Sorge, however, the International limped on for still another four years before it was finally disbanded in 1876. Well before the General Council of the International was located in New York the American branches of the organization were fighting among themselves. These internecine battles, with their inevitable schisms and expulsions, centered around the struggle for power between the doctrinaire Marxists, most of them German-born, and members of the "American" faction, which included such fascinating and bizarre social reformers as Victoria Woodhull, Tennessee Claflin, Stephen Pearl Andrews, and William West. In fact, by the time that the American IWA was honored by the presence of the General Council, it had all but disintegrated. For Bernstein this study has obviously been a labor of love. His research has been thorough and painstaking. Conceivably he magnifies the importance of the International in America, but in this regard he is no different from any other historian whose monograph deals with a subject of something less than major importance. But what his book really needed before going to press was strong editorial criticism. It is too long, excessively detailed and repetitious, and poorly organized. In short, in this book, Bernstein, like most labor historians in America, is an excellent researcher, an honest scholar, and a mediocre writer.

University of Massachusetts

HOWARD H. QUINT

ARTHUR CAPPER: PUBLISHER, POLITICIAN, AND PHILANTHROPIST. By *Homer E. Socolofsky*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1962. Pp. 283. \$6.00.) Arthur Capper was not a great man. Yet for almost fifty years he reached a larger audience through his newspapers and magazines than most better-known publishers, particularly among the farm people of the Middle West. Capper served two terms as governor of his native Kansas before beginning thirty years of service in the United States Senate. First elected to the Senate in 1918, Capper took part in the dispute over the Versailles Treaty, was the leader of the farm bloc for a short time, saw Harding succeeded by Coolidge, supported the McNary-Haugen bill, was surprised by the Great Depression, supported the early New Deal, and then worked to keep the United States out of war. Homer E. Socolofsky has now presented the life of Capper in a fashion that leads the reader to an understanding of how a man potentially so influential and occupying such high positions during crucial periods of American life left little behind him. Socolofsky has written what in all probability will remain the definitive biography of Capper. He had access to the Capper papers in the Kansas State Historical Society, other related manuscript collections, and all of the Capper publications. In addition, he interviewed many people, including Capper himself. The author's moderate interpretation of the vast amount of material he studied will provoke little controversy. Essentially, the author relates Capper's life, beginning in 1865 and ending in 1951, to the growth of Kansas. Both were important to the nation; yet neither stood out above all others. Capper expressed the will and sentiments of the average citizen of Kansas, both as a publisher and as a statesman.

Department of Agriculture

WAYNE D. RASMUSSEN

A HISTORY OF CORNELL. By *Morris Bishop*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 651. \$7.50.) The emergence of Cornell University in the late 1860's can usefully be considered the turning point in the history of American higher education. No other institution so early or so completely combined the features that were to distinguish a new era: Morrill land grants, large-scale philanthropy, a president with European inspiration, attention to the practical demands of society, nonsectarianism, coeducation, electives, research, and advanced study. To this day, Cornell retains a particular interest because it uniquely combines aspects of state and private university. In

the last two decades a number of monographs on Cornell have appeared, notably Carl Becker's *Cornell University: Founders and the Founding* and Walter P. Rogers' *Andrew D. White and the Modern University*. Utilizing these monographs, the university's archives, and his own memories, Morris Bishop of the class of 1914, long professor of Romance languages at Cornell, and author of a murder mystery with a Cornell-like setting, has produced a general history of the university. The author produces some excellent history for the years he does not remember, evoking the conflicting characters of the founder and the first president and their successful collaboration in institution building despite a multitude of contemners. The last half of the book, on the twentieth century, often degenerates into a chronicle, with careful notation of "firsts." The book is rich in humor and philosophical asides and is remarkably honest. It provides statistical proof of Ithaca's bad weather and says of one president that his record reveals no "statement of positive educational conviction or purpose." But what one would imagine to be the central question, the structure of ideas that sustained Cornell's "blend of idealism and practicality," is too often passed over with citation of a presidential inaugural. More attention to this matter might have yielded a better frame of organization than the terms of presidents and acting presidents. Bishop seems to have had the Cornell alumnus in mind as his ideal reader. The first person plural abounds. Happily, this ideal Cornell alumnus, though he likes to be reminded of anecdotes, pranks, athletic victories, violent death, and campus geography, is also intelligently interested in the growth of institutions. Thus, social and intellectual historians will not relegate this volume to the shelf of "old grad" college histories. They will value it for full and accurate information and for wise judgments on men who reshaped American higher education.

Amherst College

HUGH HAWKINS

REBEL OF THE ROCKIES: A HISTORY OF THE DENVER AND RIO GRANDE WESTERN RAILROAD. By Robert G. Athearn. [Yale Western Americana Series.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 395. \$10.00.) The history of a narrow-gauge mountain railroad is a good way to portray the changes that have occurred in Colorado since 1870. While some may label this a "company history," Robert G. Athearn has written a remarkably fair, objective, and scholarly volume. When General William Jackson Palmer built his three-foot-gauge Denver and Rio Grande in the early 1870's, he was aiming for Santa Fe and the southwestern trade. After the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe successfully occupied the vital Raton Pass, Palmer was diverted to a westward mountain thrust, toward such mining towns as Leadville, Durango, and Silverton. With a near transportation monopoly in the gold and silver empire, Palmer was able to exact a high economic tribute from the miners. But the road never prospered. Missed interest payments, an almost total absence of dividends, frequent court proceedings, and occasional receiverships marked the financial history of the company. After Palmer resigned from the presidency in 1883, absentee management was the rule. Jay Gould had periodically threatened the road; his son, George Gould, was to have several years of complete control after 1900. Financial mismanagement by the Missouri Pacific and the Western Pacific brought a deterioration so total that the Denver and Rio Grande Western was nicknamed the "Dangerous and Rapidly Growing Worse." After bankruptcy proceedings in 1935, a local Colorado management modernized the derelict line. The new Moffat Tunnel west of Denver plus a more diversified traffic eventually brought a measure of prosperity to the road by mid-century. The story is told with clarity and completeness. Athearn approaches his subject with sympathy, but he does not refuse to reveal company skeletons when he finds them. He had full access to the archives and documents of the railroad. A dozen superior maps and many first-rate illustrations enrich the volume. *Rebel of the Rockies* is an excellent history

which should please both the general reader and the student of railroad or western history.

Purdue University

JOHN F. STOVER

RAILROAD DECISIONS OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION: THEIR GUIDING PRINCIPLES. By *David W. Bishop*. (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 193. \$3.25.) David Bishop looks at a sampling of cases for the Interstate Commerce Commission's "guiding principles" in railroad regulation and for its place in the history of American law. He takes up in turn the conventional topics relating to railroad regulation and the less conventional one of racial discrimination. After a concluding chapter, he offers the text of the Shreveport decision of 1912 as an appendix. The plan is a reasonable one, and in suggesting the common bases of the commission's racial and financial policies the author has produced an interesting idea. Taken altogether, however, the book is unsatisfactory. It consists chiefly of a series of lengthy and repetitive abstracts, set in the context of the Granger view of history and the familiar secondary literature on government regulation. The "guiding principles" prove to be a compilation of the commission's dicta plus some vague phrases that the author repeats without exploring or seeming to understand fully. One detects a strong flavor of undigested notes and an awkward reliance on the phrases of the sources. The prose that results is neither clear nor correct; all too often it is not even intelligible. One reads of "illicit forms of unfair competition," of "the popularization of rate abuses," and of an "arbiter of discretionary judgment," and learns with surprise that "the stockholders were liquidated in the bankruptcy courts" and that "money invested in railway property might include disaster, extravagance, or even dishonesty." The book is obviously defective in composition, but the chief trouble, one suspects, is that the author does not have anything definite to say.

University of Alberta

WALLACE D. FARNHAM

THE POLITICS OF PREJUDICE: THE ANTI-JAPANESE MOVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA AND THE STRUGGLE FOR JAPANESE EXCLUSION. By *Roger Daniels*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXXI.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 165. \$3.50.) Not regularly are doctoral dissertations pared down with such precision and revised with such clarity and grace as Roger Daniels has accomplished in his study of anti-Japanese movements in California, 1890-1924, whose fruits were domestic violence, international ill will, discriminatory land legislation, and, in 1924, national exclusion. That the Japanese in California, never more than a handful of people in a rapidly expanding state, were subject to "sustained nativist assault" he traces to the "distinct racial" quality of the group, to the challenge that the Japanese, unlike the Chinese, presented to native business and professional classes, and to the growing national anxiety in regard to Japanese imperial designs in the Pacific. If historians still require evidence of the force of nonrationality in the affairs of man, or if they need to be reminded of the subtle ways in which sincere commitment and crass opportunism—ideology and self-interest—provide mixed motivation for human events, Daniels' modest study will suffice. The complication of national politics and international affairs by regional aberrations of apparent minor significance is set forth; Roosevelt, Wilson, Bryan, Hughes, and Lodge, as well as Hiram Johnson and James Phelan, Valentine McClatchy, Paul Scharrenberg, and Chester Rowell figure prominently in this lively analysis of one antidemocratic aspect of American life. Daniels tends to focus on the racism inherent in political progressivism, but his evidence makes clear that at one time or another Californians of every persuasion, occupation, and background were addicted to Japanophobia. The bibliography

is extensive but unselective; for annotations one must turn to the end notes which provide not only citations and references but descriptions of primary materials and critical evaluations of secondary works.

University of Minnesota

CLARKE A. CHAMBERS

CHINESE IN AMERICAN LIFE: SOME ASPECTS OF THEIR HISTORY, STATUS, PROBLEMS, AND CONTRIBUTIONS. By *S. W. Kung*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1962. Pp. xv, 352. \$7.50.) A great paradox runs through the history of American attitudes toward the Chinese. The American people have had a running love affair with China since the days of the Yankee traders, culminating in the twentieth century with the Open Door policy. Yet when the Chinese came to the United States as immigrants, native Americans greeted them with ridicule, hatred, and even violence. It is this closed door policy that Kung deals with in his account of the Chinese in American life. Covering both governmental immigration policy and the experiences of the Chinese in the United States, he concentrates on the years since World War II. Indeed, his thesis is that the war, which brought about the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943, opened up a new era for Chinese-Americans. The early Chinese immigrants had come to the United States in search of economic opportunity. When they soon met with intense discrimination and prejudice, they withdrew into isolation in their Chinatowns, cut off from the mainstream of American culture. Only when the Second World War brought about the repeal of the Exclusion Act and created new opportunities for economic advance did they begin to re-emerge. Kung documents the growing assimilation of the Chinese into American life since 1943 and the many contributions they have made in the fields of medicine, science, and scholarship. His account provides much useful data on this re-emergence, but it often fails to go beyond statistical evidence. Relying heavily on census compilations and sociological surveys, Kung fails to exploit Chinese sources to give us any account of the personal reaction to the dilemmas they faced in American society. Though he stresses the strength of innate Chinese traits and characteristics, his interpretation suggests that the patterns of Chinese behavior in the United States were determined largely by the attitudes of white Americans. Kung is sympathetic to the plight of the Chinese in America, but he shows restraint in avoiding moral judgments. His book provides a useful, though somewhat limited, account of the Chinese experience in the United States since World War II. Most of all, it reveals, by its very understatement, the shortcomings of American democracy. "The strength of the democratic process," Kung writes, "lies in the willingness of the government to guard the rights of the most humble, the most unorthodox, and the most despised persons." By this criterion, the treatment of the Chinese immigrant stands as an indictment of American idealism.

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

ROBERT A. DIVINE

EUGENE V. DEBS: SOCIALIST FOR PRESIDENT. By *H. Wayne Morgan*. [Men and Movements Series.] (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 257. \$5.50.) This competent book is neither a biography of Eugene V. Debs nor a history of the Socialist party. It is an account of the electoral activities of Debs and the Socialists from 1900, when Debs first ran for the presidency, through 1924, when the party supported Senator La Follette's candidacy, with enough Debs biography and party history to support the narrower focus. Professor Morgan used all the known Debs and Socialist party manuscripts in researching this volume, but he was forced to rely heavily on the press. Already published works on Debs and Socialism had provided us with the major outlines of this clearly written historical narrative, but the author provides us with additional detail. His conclusions and interpretations are also in agreement with

earlier works. Morgan has many revealing Debs quotations, some of which indicate more of a sardonic wit in the Socialist leader than is generally noticed. When Chauncey Depew asserted in 1900 that the United States had just 5 per cent of the world trade with the Orient and needed 50 per cent, Debs remarked, "The getting of the other 45 per cent constitutes the white man's burden at the present time."

University of Wisconsin

DAVID A. SHANNON

RECONSTRUCTION BONDS AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY POLITICS: SOUTH DAKOTA V. NORTH CAROLINA (1904). By *Robert F. Durden*. [Duke Historical Publications.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 274. \$6.00.) While he was governor of North Carolina in 1900, the only Republican governor of the state since Reconstruction, Daniel L. Russell secretly concocted a scheme to avenge his party against the Democrats and simultaneously line his own pockets. The plan was to compel the state to redeem bonds of the Reconstruction period that it had drastically scaled down in 1879. Russell hoped that success with North Carolina bonds authorized by a pre-Radical legislature of native Tarheels and secured by a second mortgage on state-owned railroad stock would open the way to settlement for holders of perhaps a hundred million dollars worth of repudiated bonds of this and other southern states. Since the Eleventh Amendment prevented individual bondholders from suing a state, Governor Russell with the help of Marion Butler, Populist senator from North Carolina, arranged to have ten bonds donated to South Dakota and then to have that state sue their own. Thus the Old North State was "dragged, kicking and screaming before the nation's highest tribunal" by its former governor and a defeated senator. The case was without precedent and full of complexities. The five-to-four decision in 1904 was against North Carolina. The loser paid South Dakota in full and arranged a compromise settlement with private holders of the same type of bonds. Russell and his friends profited far less than they hoped since the decision did not apply to the many repudiated bonds not directly contested. As the author says, it was "one of the most complicated aspects of North Carolina's history." The incident would not warrant the attention it receives, however, were it not for the information it presents on the interplay of Reconstruction, Populist, Republican, fusionist, and white supremacy politics and the myths intertwined with the history. Professor Durden uses newly discovered sources and tells a fresh and illuminating story. He tells it with wit and grace and with a humane tolerance for the intricacies of history and the frailties of human nature.

Yale University

C. VANN WOODWARD

RUM, RELIGION, AND VOTES: 1928 RE-EXAMINED. By *Ruth C. Silva*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 76. \$5.00.) In thirty-five pages of tables and twenty-nine of text, Professor Silva weighs six "factors" in the election of 1928. "Urbanism" and "big city" are included; "foreign white stock" ranks first: "60.5 times as important as Catholicism in determining Smith's lead. . . ." The crisp challenge of precise figures makes caution necessary. The author, a leader in an important and rapidly expanding field of social science research, points out failures in previous efforts to define what happened in 1928. To historians and social scientists seeking something like mathematical precision the 1928 raw material is intolerably resistant. The confusion and intermingling of issues, for example, the image of Al Smith as a "rum soaked Romanist," and the absence of such scientifically conducted interviews as are available for 1960 force the historian to a degree of impressionism. With Kennedy's narrow victory over Nixon the unwritten law collapsed. Immediately many reporters read the result as a sign that the victor's Catholicism had increased his popular vote. Subsequently four *University of Michigan* scholars showed the fault-

teness of these conclusions. Noting that qualitative evidence for 1960 is superior to that available for 1928, these scholars suggested that, when measuring the relationship between religion and votes, "aggregate vital statistics can but dimly illuminate, as the disputed history of Al Smith's 1928 defeat makes clear." This remains a sound judgment.

University of Connecticut

EDMUND A. MOORE

THE FARM BUREAU AND THE NEW DEAL: A STUDY OF THE MAKING OF NATIONAL FARM POLICY, 1933-40. By *Christiana McFadyen Campbell*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 215. \$4.75.) Mrs. Campbell's book, the 1961 award winner of the Agricultural History Society, is a winner in other respects as well. In the sturdy, unadorned prose of a published doctoral dissertation, Mrs. Campbell briefly traces the formation of the American Farm Bureau Federation through the 1920's and then sets forth the policies pursued by the leadership of this major American farmer-producer organization through the New Deal years. Accurately characterizing Farm Bureau policy as predominantly price policy from start to finish, the author spells out in splendid detail the sectionally competitive nature of American farming, the difficulties that beset farmer-labor rapprochement, the paucity of creative ideas to emerge in the thirties from Edward A. O'Neal's farmers, and the ultraconservative nature of his constituency. In particular, the author has, with knowledgeable research in Farm Bureau files, and by means of personal interviews with Henry A. Wallace, M. L. Wilson, and others, made a distinct contribution in her careful analysis of the relationship of the Farm Bureau to the Extension Service, and the reasons for the antagonism of both to the Farm Security Administration. One might have wished that Mrs. Campbell had dealt at somewhat greater length with what many people consider the idiocy of the Farm Bureau vision of "parity in the marketplace"—a parity price structure magically maintained without government production control or subsidization—and upon the shadowy political role played in the 1930's by Earl Smith of the Illinois Agricultural Association. And, despite the author's disclaimers, it might be objected that Farm Bureau President O'Neal spoke mainly for "the organization" and for some of its membership, but by no means for all of it. This is a book, however, so broadly based and so well related to the whole New Deal period that any student of the Age of Roosevelt will profit greatly from its perusal.

Brooklyn College

DEAN ALBERTSON

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1942. In seven volumes. Volume V, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 7373.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1962. Pp. vi, 838. \$3.00.) These papers concern relations with the American republics in general and with Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil in particular. Their major theme is the endeavor of the United States to secure cooperation in the war effort. During most of 1942 Sumner Welles guided Latin American policy, but Cordell Hull's influence was frequently evident. Welles represented the United States at the Rio de Janeiro meeting of the foreign ministers, which attempted to effect a unanimous severing of relations with the Axis, but which produced only a weak compromise, for which Hull rebuked him sharply. Hull's coercive policy can be seen behind the efforts to obtain an ending of telecommunications between Axis embassies and Berlin and the suppression of enemy espionage in Argentina and Chile. The governments of these nations moved slowly during 1942 to break up German spy rings proven to exist within their jurisdictions, and they permitted German diplomats to send cable and radio messages in code to Berlin. The United States used publicity, the black list, lend-lease, and control of exports to bring pressure upon

them. The documents relating to Bolivia and Brazil present a picture of effective war-time cooperation despite the continuance of attitudes that had disturbed peacetime relations. The materials in the volume demonstrate above all else the tremendous complexity and diversity of the problems faced by the American states in the months after Pearl Harbor. Considering the events of this desperate year in United States history and the conditions that existed in some of the American republics, the forceful diplomacy in which Hull believed appears appropriate to the circumstances.

Kent State University

MAURY BAKER

THE DIARY OF SIMEON PERKINS, 1790-1796. Edited with an introduction and notes by *Charles Bruce Fergusson*. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Volume XXXIX.] (Toronto: the Society. 1961. Pp. xlv, 477.) The archivist of Nova Scotia has edited with distinction this third volume of the diary of a man who lived in Liverpool, Nova Scotia. Perkins was engaged in almost every enterprise of importance as a merchant, in fishing, as a shipbuilder, lumber dealer, militia officer, magistrate, and member of the assembly, which he attended irregularly. His diary gives intimate glimpses of almost every aspect of community life; it mirrors activities along the Atlantic seaboard and relations with the West Indies; it describes the consequences of the French Revolutionary War for Nova Scotia trade. Maps and the index are adequate.

Albany, New York

ALBERT B. COREY

THE DEVELOPING CANADIAN COMMUNITY. By *S. D. Clark*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 248. \$4.75.) This collection of fifteen essays written over a period of more than twenty years by Canada's leading sociologist constitutes a historical study of the development of the Canadian community. Unlike most American sociologists, Clark is more interested in social change than in social order; these essays are the fruit of his early "conviction that sociology had much to gain from the study of the society of the past and that the sensible place for the Canadian sociologist to begin was with the study of his own society." Historians and sociologists will find his analysis provocative and stimulating. The book is divided into four sections. The six essays of the first part, "The Frontier in the Social Development of Canada," are drawn from Clark's *The Social Development of Canada*, but shorn of the documentary material which was incorporated in that volume. They trace the development of the Canadian community from the days of New France to those of the prairie wheat-farming community and the new industrial city. Part II, "Religious Organization in the Development of the Canadian Community," consists of four essays on religion and the rise of the Canadian nation, the religious sect in Canadian politics and economic development, and the religious influence in Canadian society. They are a refreshing change from the limited lucubrations of the denominational historians, though I wonder whether Clark is not suffering from blinders of his own making when he observes: "The armed might of the state was brought to bear to crush the revolt of Louis Riel from the Roman Catholic Church in 1885." Surely it was Riel's revolt against the authority of the state that invoked its use of military force to put down a rebellion that was far more political than religious. Part III consists of three essays in comparative Canadian-American sociology which will be particularly illuminating to American readers who consider Canada a mere cultural extension of the United States. Part IV comprises two essays on "Sociology and History" to which this too-limited review might well have been confined. This valuable volume unhappily lacks the index required by the wide range of time and topics that it covers so penetratingly.

University of Rochester

MASON WADE

THE LONG POLAR WATCH: CANADA AND THE DEFENSE OF NORTH AMERICA. By *Melvin Conant*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1962. Pp. xii, 204. \$5.00.) The literature on the nature of current Canadian-American relations is large, but most of it consists of governmental reports and articles in learned journals not readily available to the general reader. There have been three books, by Edgar McInnis, Joseph Barber, and Fred Alexander, and a few pamphlets, notably those issued by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, that have illuminated this unique North American partnership. Even better has been *Northern Approaches: Canada and the Search for Peace*, written by a Canadian, James Eayrs, in 1961. Now Eayrs's book is joined by American Melvin Conant's generally excellent *The Long Polar Watch*. Conant has used those few governmental publications, Canadian and American, which are available to scholars to produce a carefully reasoned and remarkably objective study of the sources of strain between the two nations. Although sometimes written in the near jargon common to diplomatic and military theorists ("the United States [should] . . . filter the impact of its military presence through multilateral defense arrangements"), the book is concise and unemotional. Two of nine chapters are a history of mutual defense efforts since 1938; of the rest, which analyze the present "defensive posture" in North America, a chapter on "the economics of defense" is particularly informative. The only subject of importance that is missing is an examination of the way public opinion is shaped in Canada. The book, especially in ignoring French-Canadian forces at work, is less helpful to American readers than it could have been. (Conant does not elaborate on his statement that "The aversion to compulsory military service is rooted deeply in Canadian traditions and politics"; not to do so leaves one ignorant of the nature of French-Canadian opposition to conscription.) But within the arena Conant has chosen, the book is sensible, low keyed, and informative.

Yale University

ROBIN W. WINKS

TEN KEYS TO LATIN AMERICA. By *Frank Tannenbaum*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1962. Pp. xi, 237, ix. \$4.95.) In the past third of a century Frank Tannenbaum's many books and articles have given stimulus and direction to the study of the history of Latin America, particularly its social history. His ideas are summed up in the present volume, which brings together recent essays already published separately. Its catchy title is misleading. The "ten keys" are not clearly identified in the text. To be sure, it is divided into ten chapters, but only seven of these are flagged as keys by such titles as "Race," "Religion," "The Hacienda," and "Leadership." The key character of the three remaining chapters is not apparent either from their titles ("The Land and the People," "The United States and Latin America," "Castro and Social Change") or from their contents. On the other hand, the discussion of nationalism, which is surely an important key, is scattered through several chapters; incidentally, there are more than twice as many passages relating to it than appear in the index. The book is far better than its title. Tannenbaum tacitly recognizes that there is no such thing as ten keys to Latin America, for while the twenty countries comprised in it have some unity, their diversity is so great that each country, and sometimes each region of a country, requires a different set of keys. This differential approach is followed most strikingly in the contrast he draws between Cuba and Mexico, the theme of which is that Fidel Castro made the great mistake of identifying social reform with agrarian revolution and of taking his model from the Mexico of the Revolution of 1910. Throughout the book, analysis of current problems is interwoven with a probing of the past that reaches back frequently to the colonial period and sometimes beyond. Such constant linking of past with present might suggest the heresy that the past is worth studying only in relation to the present, but in this case it seems to be owing rather to

Tannenbaum's matchless empathy for the Latin Americans and his insatiable desire to know and understand them at all periods of their history. With him, understanding does not signify abdication of the critic's role; on the contrary, he brings out in stark relief the seamy side of the Latin American story, present as well as past. Despite the many reservations that specialists will have about details, these qualities, combined with a vivid, vigorous style, make this the best book in any language on the present state of Latin America as seen in historical perspective.

University of Pennsylvania

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

A GUIDE TO CURRENT LATIN AMERICAN PERIODICALS: HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES. By *Irene Zimmerman*. (Gainesville, Fla.: Kallman Publishing Company, 1961. Pp. x, 357. \$20.00.) Few libraries in the world have staff enough to acquire and shelve the more than one thousand periodicals currently published in or about Latin America. But no library can now be excused from the responsibility of making an intelligent selection because of the present work. Dr. Zimmerman has listed and described periodicals according to the countries where they are published. She has included in her annotations a statement describing the periodical's purpose, frequently quoted from the editor's statement in the first issue. And she has ferreted out other useful information (name of editor wherever significant, frequency of publication, whether or not the periodical is indexed), all of which adds up to an impressive basis for choosing the right periodicals to suit the most exacting needs of a library. She has embellished her work with a chronological listing of periodicals (of interest for the history of publishing in Latin America), a subject listing that has its weak spots; and a listing of obvious casualties which will solve many a thorny search on the part of librarians.

Washington, D. C.

NATHAN A. HAVERSTOCK

HISTORIA ECONÓMICA DE MENDOZA DURANTE EL VIRREINATO (1776-1810). By *Pedro Santos Martínez*. [Adhesión al IV Centenario de la Fundación de Mendoza.] (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo." 1961. Pp. 478.) The author proposes to give us a picture of the economic development of Mendoza and its region during the last years of viceregal rule, attempting to focus attention on the important interior portion of Argentina rather than on Buenos Aires. To this end, Santos Martínez has used not only published documents and specialized studies but archival material from both Argentina and Spain. After a preliminary general sketch of the demographic and economic fundamentals of the area, the author leads us successively through chapters on irrigation and drainage, agriculture and stock raising, industry, mining, taxation, bridges, roads, and commerce, with a final treatment on prices and wages. In all this there is abundant and even occasionally excessive detail. Considerable interest attaches to the efforts of the viceregal government to foster economic development, and even a kind of muted drama emerges from the schemes of a Catalan entrepreneur, Francisco Serra Canals, to foment mining at Uspalata, divert the Tunuyán River, or build a toll bridge on the route to Buenos Aires, efforts that failed partly on account of bad engineering but especially, in the case of the bridge, because of the furious opposition of local interests, who feared that bridge tolls might reveal smuggled goods. In the end, the author's chief objectives are largely achieved. The vigor and variety of colonial economic life and the significance of Mendoza and the interior are amply demonstrated. The division of the subject by topics, however, leads to an important fault in the work, the lack of a sense of historical con-

tinuity and dynamics. The relation of taxation to commerce, bridges and roads to both, and all to political history is not clear. To a large degree, the author has separated the threads of history from the fabric. The all-important wine trade with Buenos Aires, for example, is dealt with in the separate chapters on industry, commerce, and roads, with no more organic unity than is provided by occasional cross-referencing. In treating taxation, the author makes it clear that Mendoza suffered from the competition of Spanish wine after the inauguration of *comercio libre*. But it is clear, also, that Mendoza recovered. The reader is left to learn why in other chapters. In sum, this work provides information and interpretations of importance and fulfills its major purpose, but it does not convey the sense of motion and the interplay of events essential to good history.

Brigham Young University

GEORGE M. ADDY

OCHERKI NOVOI I NOVEISHEI ISTORII MEKSIKI, 1810-1945 [Outlines of the Modern and Recent History of Mexico, 1810-1945]. Edited by M. S. *Alperovich* and N. M. *Lavrov*. (Moscow: State Publishing House for Social and Economic Literature, 1960. Pp. 509.) Mexicanists especially, and Latin Americanists generally, would do well to note these eleven essays dealing with Mexican history from the outbreak of the struggles for independence to the conclusion of World War II. The several authors trace the broad themes of Mexico's past in narrow channels which, they maintain, clearly establish the Mexican Communist party as the only orthodox agent capable of bringing national felicity to a country long engaged in a ruthless class struggle against native and foreign lackeys of capitalist imperialism. Thus, from first page to last, the collection is a calendar of facts and fancies, which the writers utilize to buttress their ideological and political aims. As with other such Soviet efforts, since the authors are personally unfamiliar with both land and people, their understanding of the *ambiente* is superficial, if not totally absent. Yet, in all fairness, the essayists are conversant with most of the standard sources for modern Mexican history. The bibliography contains works in English, French, and German (from Humboldt and Bancroft to Cline and Soustelle) and is equally thorough with regard to the standard Mexican historians and their works. Both text and bibliography contain abundant references to Marx, Engels, Lenin, and, of course, Khrushchev. The entire work, so heavily padded with political purpose, is devoid of any treatment of cultural history, the authors assuming, no doubt, that Mexico, having fallen under the rule of the "bourgeois capitalist-oriented" National Institutional Revolutionary party, could not produce a viable culture. All in all, this Soviet effort, precisely because of the isolation of the society that produced it, falls far short of the lucid, if contorted, Colombian work of like coverage and purpose by a native Communist, Anteo Quimbaya, *Cuestiones colombianas* (1958).

Vanderbilt University

LEON HELGUERA

INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL IN YUCATÁN. In two volumes. By *John Lloyd Stephens*. Edited with an introduction by *Victor Wolfgang von Hagen*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 37.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Pp. xxxiv, 315; xix, 327. \$15.00 the set.) This is a handsome new edition of John Lloyd Stephens' best-known work, originally published in 1843. It may stand as a scholar's text, for only minor changes in punctuation and spelling have been made, and the appendixes and the drawings by Frederick Catherwood are included. An introduction by Victor W. von Hagen, biographer of both Stephens and Catherwood, evaluates the work in relation to Stephens' life and other writings, exaggerates Stephens' role as a founder of archaeological science, and presents a sprightly commentary. Stephens'

work is, as Von Hagen says, a classic of travel literature, and the author's engaging descriptions of nineteenth-century Yucatec life retain their fascination. His accounts of Maya remains are still of archaeological importance.

State University of Iowa

CHARLES GIBSON

THE STILLBORN PANAMA CONGRESS: POWER POLITICS AND CHILEAN-COLOMBIAN RELATIONS DURING THE WAR OF THE PACIFIC. By Robert N. Burr. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXIX.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1962. Pp. 146. \$3.00.) Several years ago, Burr published an article entitled "The Balance of Power in Nineteenth-Century South America: An Exploratory Essay" (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXV [Feb. 1955], 37-60). In the attempt to discover a pattern of power politics, he concluded that two separate systems had emerged after independence: Río de la Plata (Argentina versus Brazil) and west coast (Chile versus Peru), with Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador not particularly interested in the power struggle to the south. The War of the Pacific (1879-1883) marked the fusion of the two systems. Burr applies a "continental approach to a series of events that took place on the periphery of the war" that effected the fusion. He shows how "the intensification of the power struggle" in the south "served to throw in relief the inter-locking interests of northern and southern South America, and to involve Colombia in that struggle as a result of its relations with Chile." The Colombian-Chilean dispute over the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama was the result of heavy shipment of Peruvian war supplies over the Panama railroad (completed 1855). While Chile could not use the railroad effectively, it tried to deny its use to Peru. At Chile's suggestion, a *modus vivendi* in the form of a Convention for Compulsory Arbitration was signed on September 3, 1880. The Colombian President decided to implement and broaden the application of the convention by calling a congress of Latin American states at Panama to negotiate a multilateral instrument. The initial reactions to the invitations were generally favorable, but pronounced victories over Peru and the expectation of an early peace caused Chile to cool toward the idea and its diplomatic agents to maneuver at the various capitals to prevent the sending of delegates. Also, there was the widely held fear that once in session the congress might expand its agenda to other topics. When the congress convened (December 1881-January 1882), only Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and El Salvador sent delegates, who did little more than exchange credentials, decide that they were too few in number to undertake multilateral negotiations, and depart. "The Panama Congress had been still-born," yet it was significant since "the basis of its conception and the factors causing its failure, demonstrate[d] the existence of elements of a system of power politics linking the nations of South America." There is a need for more studies of similar depth and penetration in inter-Latin American relations.

Arlington, Virginia

E. T. PARKS

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T. Robert S. Broughton

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Historical News

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The Chicago Meeting, 1962*

The final week of 1962 brought to Chicago not only the traditional seasonal revelry, but a visit from over 2,900 historians, who gathered in the Conrad Hilton, from December 28 to December 30, for the Seventy-seventh Annual Meeting of the Association. This figure, as always, represents those who registered (2,959), but the ranks were swelled by an uncounted number of visitors who did not sign up at the desks so effectively manned by the workers of the Local Arrangements Committee, with Martin Lowery, chairman. To judge by the orderly flow of traffic in the corridors, in fact, the Local Arrangements Committee did its work for 1962 with unusual competence. Since Chairman Lowery had no fewer than thirty-two stalwart committee aids, space limitations preclude an individual expression of gratitude to each, but the entire group richly deserves commendation for a meeting unmarred by crises due to technical malfunctions.

The Program Committee for 1962 attempted to organize the meeting around the theme of "Change and History." This committee consisted of Bernard A. Weisberger (chairman), J. H. Hexter, Jacob M. Price, Leften Stavrianos, and Deno Geanakoplos. Thomas N. Bonner was also a member and was active in the initial planning work, but withdrew from participation in mid-spring in order to devote time to campaigning for Congress. While, regrettably, he was unsuccessful, Nebraska's loss is the historical profession's gain. The committee circularized a number of universities, colleges, and specialized historical associations, asking for proposals for papers and sessions that would illustrate, through particular examples, the ways in which historians define and evaluate change, and the impact of changing circumstances on the writing of history itself. Excellent cooperation from individual members of the profession and from nineteen cooperating organizations (running the alphabetical gamut from the Agricultural History Society to the Urban History Group) resulted in a forty-eight-session program that richly illuminated possible variations on the basic idea. While speaking of cooperation, I cannot overlook this opportunity to thank my devoted and diligent committee and also the Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, Boyd Shafer, whose knowledge and counsel were freely and promptly made available at all times. No program chairman can long fail to be gratefully aware of Mr. Shafer's indispensable aid in arranging the meetings.

With this year, an experiment is inaugurated. The present report, in the pages of the *Review*, will be considered an initial summary of the proceedings for the benefit of the members; a detailed account of transactions, at greater length, will follow in the Association's *Annual Report*. Accordingly, no attempt will be made

* This is an abridged account of the Annual Meeting in Chicago, December 28-30, 1962. As previously announced, a full report will be published in the *Annual Report, Proceedings*, Volume I, 1962, available to members on request.

here to summarize the contents of any papers or sessions. It will be worthwhile, however, to discuss the distribution of the sessions by period and area and to show how the broad theme of the meeting was sustained.

Four sessions dealt with the broader problems of history, whether defined as an art, a science, a discipline, or a profession. On the opening morning, Herman H. Fussler, University of Chicago, presided at a meeting that discussed "The Historian and the Changing Techniques of Research." Verner Clapp, of the Council on Library Resources, read a paper on such new technological aids for research as machines that store and retrieve vast quantities of information on tape and film. Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley, presented some views on the challenge offered to the historian by these devices. On the afternoon of December 28, a session was devoted to the problem created by the proliferation of secondary-school courses in history often taught, of necessity, by teachers not thoroughly trained in our discipline. Martin Mayer, newspaperman and writer, challenged professional historians to bridge the gap between the graduate research seminar and the high school classroom in a provocative paper (provocatively dealt with by three commentators) entitled "What Can the Universities Do for Education?" President Paul L. Ward, Sarah Lawrence College, presided at this session, which gave the 1962 meeting the distinction of having two university and college presidents in chairmen's roles, inasmuch as President Charles H. Wesley, of Central State University, Ohio, presided over a later meeting on "The Emancipation Proclamation as Historical Turning Point."

On the morning of the second day, a very large assemblage came to hear a discussion of the perennially interesting problem of "The Education of Historians in the United States." With Dexter Perkins in the chair, the meeting revolved around the proper functions and qualifications of historical graduate schools in the midst of our present academic "population explosion." John Snell, Tulane University, Jacques Barzun, Columbia University, and W. Stull Holt, University of Washington, examined this subject with wit and insight and sparked a lively floor discussion. On Saturday afternoon, Herbert J. Muller, Indiana University, presented a paper that formed the backbone of a session on the intriguing subject of "What Happened to the Great Generalizations?" Louis Gottschalk, University of Chicago, was an interested and articulate presiding officer.

It may bear repeating that the full report on these papers, and the comments prepared to go with them, will appear later in the *Annual Report*. These four sessions, however, tried to deal with history in a changing world in a manner that would elicit the interest of all members, regardless of their location in the many and varied special categories of historical study.

The remaining forty-four sessions of the meeting, however, were devoted to aspects of change in particular eras or areas. By rough classification, fourteen sessions dealt with Great Britain and the countries of Western Europe since approximately 1400. Thirteen considered problems in the history of the United States. Five sessions were specifically aimed at the interests of specialists in ancient and medieval history. Four were given to Russian and Eastern European history, three to Latin America and Canada, three to the relatively new field of African his-

tory, and two to Asia and the Far East. The Program Committee was keenly aware that in history's house there are many rooms, some more populous than others. They attempted to slight no group in their apportionment of time and space.

To single out some of these sessions for description now might possibly appear invidious to some. On the other hand, a wholly random sampling of session titles may indicate how closely the program was oriented to the theme, much to the gratification of its planners. The relationship between "Change and History" received a thorough scrutiny. There were sessions on "Changing Views of the Relation between Social Welfare and Politics," on "Patterns of American Intolerance in Two Centuries," and on "Changes in the Protestant View of Progress." Historiography claimed attention in such programs as "New Trends in African Historiography," "Explanations of Change in Classical Historians," and "Shifting Interpretations of Medieval History." At various times and places audiences could hear discussions of what was transient and what was permanent in "The Evolution of British Land Policy in India," in "Warlordism in a Changing China," or in the transition "From the Old Regime to the New Order: The Case of the Corporation," the last-named program dealing with corporate institutions in France and Germany in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Still other meetings concerned themselves with changes in the Danubian world in the twentieth century, in economic opportunity in the United States, in Great Britain during the Industrial Revolution, in nineteenth-century Germany, and in the Tuscan city-state in the early Renaissance. From warlordism in China to Russian industrialization in the 1890's, from canon law in medieval Europe to *Realpolitik* in Europe's age of romanticism, the sessions and their participants ranged in search of understanding and enlightenment. Again, as Program Chairman, I wish to thank each chairman, reader, and commentator for the care and skill with which they went about their tasks for the benefit of all of us. Even the full account of all the sessions to come later will be able, as always, to do no more than suggest the richness of the offerings.

As usual, many of the cooperating associations that meet "within, or jointly with," the Association held lunches and dinners for their members. The Conference on Slavic and East European Studies, Phi Alpha Theta, the American Studies Association, the Society of American Archivists, the Conference on Latin American History, and the Modern European History Section all attracted mid-day diners to listen to papers or informal talks while digesting their noontime meals. True to tradition, the Mediaeval Academy of America and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held dinners for interested members on the first night of the meeting.

Tradition underwent considerable modification, however, when the second night failed to bring the annual dinner of the Association. After the customary business meeting at 4:30 p.m. on December 29 (see pages 896-98) the members of the Association went their separate ways to dine. The great majority of those attending, it appeared, then reassembled at 8:00 p.m. in the Hilton's spacious International Ballroom to hear President Carl Bridenbaugh deliver his address, "The Great Mutation," which appeared in the January issue of the *Review*. President Bridenbaugh was introduced with ability and wit by Mr. Emmett

Dedmon, executive editor of the Chicago *Sun-Times*. The address speaks for itself on the printed page (see *AHR*, LXVIII [Jan. 1963], 315-31), though print fails to capture the warmth with which it was delivered and received. Prior to the presidential address, the annual award of prizes of the Association was made. Jerome Blum won the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize for his book *Lord and Peasant in Russia*, and Ford Brown received honorable mention for the same award for his *Fathers of the Victorians*. Piotr S. Wandycz received the George Louis Beer Prize for his book *France and Her Eastern Allies 1919-1925*; Walter LaFeber, the Albert J. Beveridge Award for "The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898"; E. James Ferguson, the John H. Dunning Prize for his book *The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776-1790*. A joint award of the Watumull Prize was made to George D. Bearce for his book on *British Attitudes toward India 1784-1858* and to Stanley A. Wolpert for his work *Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India*.

The good cheer of the occasion was diminished somewhat by Boyd Shafer's announcement, at the opening of the meeting, of the death (which had just occurred) of Guy Stanton Ford, longtime Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review*. The entire audience expressed, by its momentary silence, the Association's sense of regret at his passing.

If the annual dinner fell by the wayside, there was, nevertheless, the third-day luncheon of the Association. A capacity crowd attended to hear Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Special Assistant to the President of the United States, talk on "The Historian and History." Mr. Schlesinger held the undivided attention of the guests as he told his fellow historians how his own perspectives in history had been affected by his experiences in the White House. He declared that he was more than ever aware of the terrible complexities, uncertainties, and pressures that play upon statesmen as they make their fateful decisions. He could never again be entirely confident of finding rational and orderly schemes of motivation for actors in history's grand dramas. He could less freely criticize their choices. On the other hand, he was more convinced than ever of how important it was for statesmen to make firm and wise decisions, to substitute mastery for drift, and to be guided by a sense of historical possibilities and potentialities.

The luncheon concluded those organized activities which were wholly or partly social in nature. Sunday afternoon, December 30, saw eight interesting sessions, followed by the usual lines at the check-out windows and the grand exodus. By nightfall, in all probability, the last post-mortem had been held, the last candidate interviewed, and the last farewells exchanged, and only the meeting officials remained with "mopping-up" tasks ahead. The 1962 meeting was itself history. The task of more fully recapturing and documenting its proceedings will later be resumed, but once more, at this temporary halting place, thanks are offered to all those who by planning, participation, or simply attendance, made it both possible and meaningful for the Association and the profession.

University of Chicago

BERNARD A. WEISBERGER

The Year's Business, 1962**REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1962**

This is my tenth report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. This report will, as my previous reports have done, describe activities of the Association during the year. It will also stress certain problems facing historians as they try to recapture historical experience to enrich the understanding of present men.

The membership of the Association is now over 11,000, compared to 6,000 in 1953; at our meetings about 3,000 historians now register, double the number (1,292) registering at Chicago in 1953. As the Association has steadily gone about its usual work, it has also steadily taken on new activities, rendered new services. In past reports I have, for example, spoken often of the microfilming and indexing of German war documents, of the *Guide to Historical Literature* (now in its second printing), of the *Guide to Photocopied Materials*, and of *The Education of Historians in the United States*. These projects are now completed.

Our Service Center for Teachers of History, designed "to bridge the gap between the teacher and the professional historian," continues to bridge this gap with the counsel of the Committee on Teaching (Joseph Strayer, chairman). In September we turned over the printing and distribution but not the editing of the pamphlets (now forty-seven with six more to be published this year) to the Macmillan Company. This action relieved our office of a burden it could no longer support and may bring the pamphlets to the attention of more teachers. During the six years we distributed the pamphlets their circulation exceeded 600,000. Out of monies set aside from the sale of pamphlets as well as Association funds, we still support, though on a reduced scale, conferences of high school teachers and academic historians, and we plan to expand this service which teachers both want and need. One Service Center pamphlet outside the regular series, *Preparation of Secondary-School History Teachers*, has just been sent to all members and will be given to many students, teachers, and educators. Dozens of requests for it have come in. If it helps in the improvement of standards, our objectives will be realized.

Our attempt to strengthen the study of South Asian history in the United States has, according to the universities to which we have sent eleven professors, met with success. This coming year, the last year of the supporting Rockefeller Foundation grant, our Committee on South Asian History (Earl Pritchard, acting chairman) will invite two additional historians from India and Pakistan. Of our five planned bibliographies on British history only one volume, that by Conyers Read, has appeared, but Stanley Pargellis, who has acted as leader of the joint British-American advisory group, believes that two more volumes will appear within a year.

During the year we have established two new Association committees, on Ancient History (Chester Starr, chairman) and on Maritime History (Frederic Lane, chairman). We have also appointed the United States members of two new joint committees, the Canadian-United States Committee for Cooperation (Samuel Flagg Bemis, chairman of the American contingent), and the Historical

Association (Britain) and the American Historical Association Committee on National Bias in Textbooks (Richard McCormick, United States chairman). We may expect recommendations from all four of these committees during the next two or three years.

We continue to be represented on the Social Science Research Council (Louis Gottschalk, David Potter, and Thomas Cochran), and on the American Council of Learned Societies (Robert Palmer). Arthur Whitaker is the Association and United States delegate in the Assembly of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, and Boyd Shafer is an elected member of the Bureau (or Council) of the International Committee. Thomas Mendenhall and Walter Rundell, Jr., are the Association's representatives on the editorial board of *Social Education*, the journal of the National Council for the Social Studies, and Julian Boyd and Boyd Shafer are the Association's representatives on the National Historical Publications Commission, which has been primarily concerned with the preparation of scholarly editions of the papers of famous Americans. Boyd Shafer also serves on the Board of Directors of the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs.

The prize committees of the Association, inundated as usual with books but not manuscripts, have again made wise choices which, as is the custom, are announced on December 29. Though the monetary value of the prizes, with the exception of the Beveridge Award, is too small, scholars still eagerly contend. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize in European History (Richard Brace, chairman), the George Louis Beer Prize in European International History (Henry Cord Meyer, chairman), the Beveridge Award in the History of the Western Hemisphere (Charles Gibson, chairman), the John H. Dunning Prize in American History (Edmund Morgan, chairman), and the Watumull Prize (Robert I. Crane, chairman) will all be awarded this year.

Though most college and university faculty members seem to abhor committee work in their own institutions, dozens of members of the Association gave long hours and hard toil to the widely varied work of the Association and the profession. The Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government (Charles Barker, chairman) has considered many problems, including governmental historical publications, scholarly use of the Library of Congress, and the nature of governmental employment of historians. For the Committee on International Historical Activities (headed by Arthur Whitaker) this has been a year of preparation for American participation in the International Congress to be held in Vienna in 1965. Hoping to provide outstanding papers and to meet the difficulties of international cooperation in a world split by ideology, this committee has most difficult and important tasks.

For two much-needed studies we have not been able as yet to obtain funds. With an imaginative group headed by Roderic Davison we plan to do what could be a truly creative series of experimental historical papers based on concepts and methods adapted from other disciplines in the social sciences and the humanities, one on areas outside Europe and the United States, and one on the history of science. These papers would not stop at exhortation, as has too often been the case in the past, but actually reveal insights that may develop when the tools of inquiry are sharp. We also had hoped to begin a major study of world

history in the schools, but, unfortunately, we may not be able to do so until other major surveys of all school offerings in the so-called social sciences, from kindergarten through grade twelve, are under way.

Fortunately positions in history do not have to await surveys. The Professional (formerly Job) Register has been informed of about 250 positions in the last 11 months and brought these to the attention of the over 500 registrants.

The editing of the *Review* is probably our most important task. Our *Review* is the most comprehensive (1,230 pages in 1961-1962) and universal scholarly journal in history. In Volume LXVII the *Review* published 16 (14 last year) articles and 4 "Notes and Suggestions" (8 the previous year). Because more scholarly historical volumes were published, but also because the editor strenuously has sought to obtain such books everywhere, the number of books reviewed and noticed has mounted every year. Last year the total soared to 720 (692 in 1960-1961); this is almost double the number of 1953. If we may judge by letters and comments, the Board of Editors' policy of seeking broad, new, interpretive, and well-written papers should be emphasized even more than it has, but the difficulty is that American historians do not often prepare this kind of essay. The *Review* now goes to over 13,000 (7,000 in 1953) individuals and institutions. To facilitate scholarly use of the *Review*, a huge new *Index* covering the years 1935-1955 has been prepared and published. One major problem of the *Review*, that of space, is being alleviated though not solved.

In early December the Association mailed to members the first issue of the *Newsletter*, which will be published five times a year. This *Newsletter*, edited by the Assistant Executive Secretary, Walter Rundell, Jr., carries "personals," long a section of the *Review*, notices of the Professional Register, and other items of Association and professional interest.

As the Association and its activities have grown and the *Review* has become larger, our office became too small. We have been forced, therefore, to expand our office space by the acquisition and remodeling of an adjoining building. The new space should be ready for occupancy by the time the staff returns from the Chicago meeting.

All that we do is based on the premise that the study of history, our teaching and our research, will deepen human understanding of the present and thus enhance the possibility of intelligent action. As it was in 1890 and again in 1910, historical study is deep in a period of major questioning and transition. For historians, as for all mankind, this is a period, in the words of President Carl Bridenbaugh, of the "Great Mutation." As never before, American historians are questioning their basic assumptions, their methods, their purposes. Practitioners of other scholarly disciplines in the United States are challenging our discipline with increasing vigor. And Marxist historians are sharply attacking the whole structure of historical study as it has developed in Western civilization since Ranke.

Questioning of the ways history is studied, written, and taught in the United States is not new, nor are attacks on American historical study and historians. Theodore Roosevelt called our predecessors "conscientious, industrious, painstaking little pedants" who might have been useful had they understood their limitations. James Harvey Robinson exhorted his progressive generation to give up

antiquated ideas and adopt a broadened "new history," based on the social sciences, a history expressly written to explain the making of the modern mind. Charles Beard told the same generation that it had failed to understand the economic interpretation of *The Federalist*, Number 10, and had therefore not understood the Constitution of the United States; he told a later generation that they ought to read Croce and the recent German philosophers of history, re-examine out-of-date postulates, and achieve more useful and therefore truer understandings. Allan Nevins in 1940 and since has told American historians again and again that they are failing to communicate, that they ought to think and write with the public always in mind. In Europe from the 1870's the same questions were being asked, the same attacks were being delivered as the essays and books of Nietzsche, Droysen, Dilthey, Lamprecht, Croce, Lacombe, Berr, Febvre, and Bloch abundantly witness.

What seems new today is the intensity of the questioning of Western historical work as a useful contribution to the study of men and societies.

Marxist historians following the Stalin or Khrushchev line have attacked American historians (see *AHR*, LXI [Oct. 1955], 252-56; LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 304-308) as bourgeois agents of the "ruling circles" of the United States. They assert that we follow the "reactionary line" of monopolistic and imperialistic capitalism. Last summer at a conference in Dedham, Massachusetts, sponsored by Educational Services Incorporated and the American Council of Learned Societies, a sociologist from Brandeis University called history "the Sacred Cow" that ought to be slaughtered. Most "behavioral" scientists, of course, are not so violent, but some do ask a pointed question: "What does the study of history contribute to the human sciences?" Sometimes they answer, "Not much."

Serious historians have often asked themselves the same question, and a few of them, as James Harvey Robinson who was thinking of history before his new history, have been inclined to give the same answer. Usually, however, historians have not delivered frontal attacks or indulged in sweeping generalizations; rather they have asked searching and critical questions of their discipline. Recently J. H. Hexter, re-examining a myth of Tudor and Stuart history, has asked us to test the validity of many of our concepts, as "trends," and to rethink our basic assumptions. This fall members of a group of historians meeting at the Winterthur Museum warned us that historians have withdrawn from the contemporary world, that they have failed to catch the public imagination, and that their books "encrusted in graduate school pedantry often go down like old-fashioned castor oil." They called for new theories rather than the new testing of old hypotheses. Our own President Bridenbaugh asks whether, unless we become more imaginative than we are, society will continue to support history as a useful branch of knowledge.

For the past ten years, in Washington and during occasional trips about the country and to Europe, I have systematically investigated fundamental questionings concerning the nature and practice of historical study in the United States. It has been not only part of my job but part of my personal quest as a historian to know the issues and to take part in the never-ceasing debate. Here I simply try to summarize certain critical opinions that I have encountered.

American historians, unlike German and some French historians, have dis-

liked and disparaged theoretical discussions (philosophy, epistemology) and have seldom examined the fundamental assumptions upon which their work is based. They have proceeded in pragmatic and empirical fashion, saying, "Let's get on with our real work of research and teaching." But, it is reiterated, the assumptions can no longer be taken for granted. Progress (or evolution of any kind) is not inevitable. Being human, historians cannot be objective; the documents themselves, being of man, are subjective: *wie es eigentlich gewesen* is an illusion. Because truth itself is relative, historians cannot arrive at scientific conclusions or definitive interpretations. Even their choice of facts changes with time and circumstance. Unless they wish, for example, to stand Hegel on his head and use the materialist dialectic, they now, or so it is said, have no solid scheme of reference, no sturdy framework on which to hang facts and base understanding.

Even if historical study has been of great value in the past, it cannot be so in the contemporary world, it is asserted, because of the speed of events or because of the discontinuity brought by science and invention, war and revolution. Buried in the mass of documents, present historians are always hopelessly behind, can never catch up. If they could catch up, they would be faced with a world that no longer needs history. In any case, historians, involved in the past, cannot and do not contribute much to the only time that counts, the present and future.

Even if, another argument runs, historians do learn to work with the mass of documents, their tools of analysis, their powers of synthesis are too blunt. The "behavioral" sciences, employing testable hypotheses and precise language (or jargon), can and do make more useful discoveries.

Even if, critics tell us, historians do socially useful work, they write so badly, teach so poorly, and are so undramatic that they fail to reach people or enough people. It is true that their classes are filled and overflowing and that they publish many books and articles. But they cannot effectively use the English (or any other) language; they want to be in ivy-covered libraries and teach as little as possible; and their books do not sell. High school teachers of history, moreover, are not well trained, and the professional college and university teachers are too often dull pedants. The world history course in the high schools is a "mess," and college courses are either too general or overspecialized. Because historians are too timid, they tend to ignore the "real" world of conflict and creation, and they concentrate too often on subjects of antiquarian interest. Because they are too unimaginative, they write on any topic, no matter how insignificant, on which they can find documents. In sum, the argument runs, they fail to relate the past to the present in meaningful ways, and they have lost touch with their fellows and their communities.

I suppose that the critical faculty can be overdone. I am certain that the above indictments are overdrawn. I am aware that some of the criticisms arise out of a power struggle in the academic world for status, for students, and for foundation grants. Yet some of the criticisms are based on keen observation and solid evaluation. It is certainly true that we have *in part*, and I emphasize *in part*, failed to answer needs of our age for that kind of reflective historical work which will so enrich the lives of our students and readers and so attract them that they will demand historical knowledge before acting.

Some historians may say that this view reveals a naïve kind of eighteenth-

century optimism, that we can never hope to enlighten our fellows more than we are doing. Others may argue that it indicates an unfounded pessimism, that all historians need is the "wherewithal," that is, money, and if the Association, or someone, would get it and provide historians with all the grants and fellowships that scientists have, there would not be a problem. To hope may be naïve, but it is a characteristic of the genus American. To wish for material resources, in this case for research and teaching, is also a characteristic of American scholars but, as the cliché goes, money is not enough, for the real answers to questions of the mind cannot be bought.

In the Western world there are thousands of historians. Few generalizations will cover all their views and work. Everywhere, however, some of them are asking how they may improve their discipline and arrive at new or deeper insights. This may not be the century of history as Augustin Thierry thought the nineteenth century was, but it is a century in which there is intense interest in history, and fine minds are studying it, both in traditional and in daring, unorthodox ways. In Britain, France, and the United States, historians for the most part are intelligently adding to knowledge as they test old hypotheses and deepen or widen well-worn channels. In Britain, at the same time, the "degeneralizing" and "demythologizing" inspired by Namier's basically statistical analysis of small subjects have shattered old beliefs about late eighteenth-century and Victorian England. Only now are new syntheses ever so tentatively being suggested. In France, the great work of synthesis exhorted by Berr and Febvre and perhaps achieved by Bloch and Braudel is leading to new understanding of the Middle Ages and the Mediterranean world of the sixteenth century, and the brilliant economic analyses of Labrousse and his *équipe* have revolutionized interpretations of eighteenth-century France and its Revolution. In the United States, Curti, Potter, Palmer, Woodward, Hofstadter, Bailyn, Boorstin, Donald, and a good many others are daring to try new hypotheses and methods. Louis Gottschalk, with his Committee of the Social Science Research Council, is about to publish an important study on "generalizations," and the book on *Reconstruction in American History*, edited by John Higham, and our own Service Center pamphlets reveal how many of our old interpretations have been modified by later research.

Still there is much to be done, much rethinking to do. And there always will be. Possibly, probably, we should at this point ask some fundamentally theoretical questions once more, however we may dislike doing so and though it is clear that we can find no certain final answers.

What are major valid unities for study? Only individuals in biography, as Dilthey declared? Nations in national histories, as most of us have thought? Or world history, as Barraclough hopes?

What time divisions should be used for study? We know that the Middle Ages were not "middle"; we are not certain there was a "Renaissance." When does modern history begin? Since history is a flowing stream, perhaps it does not matter, but the Marxists think so, and the periodization we choose does influence interpretation.

By what criteria shall we judge what is significant and therefore select the facts on which to base interpretation? Shall we try to re-create the past in terms of the past, the present, or (as E. H. Carr would have it) the future?

Most of us believe that to write history *wie es eigentlich gewesen* is not possible, an ideal that even Ranke could not realize. But if we cannot re-create the past as it happened, what can or do we re-create?

If, as most of us think, definitive history (in the sense of Langlois and Seignobos) can no longer be written because each age will ask new questions of the past which contains everything, are there any universal questions or answers? Because of the nature of history and ourselves, we probably cannot avoid being relativists, but does this mean that there are no eternal questions that the historian can ask and no long-range, if pluralistic, interpretations he can offer?

No one believes that we can attain complete objectivity, but how can we restrain and control subjectivity? Should we "empty out" our prejudices as Butterfield advocates, become sympathetically but passionately involved with our subjects as Marrou pleads, or become "hanging judges" as Acton believed?

What new hypotheses or concepts ought we to propose and to test? It seems certain that "Quand on ne sait pas ce qu'on cherche, on ne sait pas ce qu'on trouve."

I shall not prolong these questions to which there are no certain or final answers, but we must continue the dialogue, for the history we write and teach will depend upon the tentative and halting positions we have taken, do take, and will take. Nothing human, Bloch told us, can be alien to us, and, Marrou adds, we must open ourselves to all that is human. It well may be, as the Strasbourg philosopher Georges Gusdorf remarks, that the goals of understanding will always recede as we think we approach them and that we may be like children running after their shadows. Still there is knowledge to be gained and enjoyment to be won in the running.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary and Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL
OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
THE CONRAD HILTON HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
DECEMBER 27, 1962, 10:00 A.M.

Present at the meeting were Carl Bridenbaugh, President; Crane Brinton, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Councilors John Caughey, Walter Johnson, Frederic C. Lane, Charles Mullett, Gaines Post, Gordon Wright; and former Presidents Samuel Flagg Bemis and Bernadotte Schmitt. John A. Schutz, Secretary-Treasurer of the Pacific Coast Branch, and Walter Rundell, Jr., Assistant Executive Secretary, were also present. Past Presidents Louis Gottschalk, Dexter Perkins, and Walter Prescott Webb attended at varying times.

The minutes of the 1961 meeting of the Council were approved as they had been published in the April 1962 issue of the *Review* (pages 881-88).

The President asked the Executive Secretary to send greetings from the Council to John Hope Franklin who is presently Pitt Professor of American History at Cambridge University, and a member of the Council of the Association.

On behalf of the Council, the Executive Secretary was asked to send a tele-

gram to Guy Stanton Ford, long Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review*, and now in his ninetieth year.

Because it had been sent to the Council, the report of the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review* was not read. The Executive Secretary spoke of the increase in membership (approximately 10,000 active members, 11,000 constitutional members). He reported that the Professional Register now had over 700 registrants and that the Association was being notified of numerous positions.

Carl Bridenbaugh, President of the Association, appointed a committee of the three immediate past Presidents, Samuel Flagg Bemis, Bernadotte Schmitt, and himself, with Councilor Gordon Wright as chairman and Julian Boyd as an additional member, to study and define the duties of the President, Vice-President, the Executive Committee, and Finance Committee, and to report to the Council at the meeting in 1963 for the Council's consideration.

The Treasurer of the Association, Elmer Louis Kayser, gave a brief summary of his report which the Council had received earlier. He indicated that certain changes in the values of the funds of the Association resulted from changes in the market values of the securities held by the Fiduciary Trust Company, New York City, and in the investment in property for the enlargement of the Association headquarters. The Council seriously considered plans for further use of Association funds on the motion of Councilor Walter Johnson. It approved in principle funds for the addition of staff to assist the Executive Secretary and asked that the details be worked out by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer and Executive Secretary discussed proposed budgets for 1962-1963 and 1963-1964. The Council approved these budgets with minor changes. The Service Center should be, the Council decided, allotted up to \$5,000 a year for 1962-1963 and 1963-1964 for conferences of teachers in the schools and professional historians; up to \$3,000 is to be taken from the revolving fund of the Service Center, while the originally budgeted \$2,000 contributions by the Association remain constant. The Council authorized additional expenditure of up to \$2,500 for the remodeling of the new offices at 402 A Street. The Council approved slight overages in budgeted expenditures for 1961-1962 and an increase in the budget of the Program Committee for 1963-1964 to \$1,000.

The Executive Secretary spoke of the new provision for the printing and distribution of the Service Center pamphlets by the Macmillan Company and of the difficulties arising out of the transition to the new plan.

Upon the nomination of the Managing Editor, the Council confirmed the appointment of Professor C. Bradford Welles as a new member of the Board of Editors to replace Professor Mason Hammond whose term expires in 1962.

For the new delegates to scholarly groups, the Council elected Professor Louis Morton to the Social Science Research Council, re-elected President Thomas P. Mendenhall to the Board of Editors of *Social Education*, and elected Professor George Pierson to the American Council of Learned Societies.

The Executive Secretary announced that the Executive Committee of the Council had selected as Program Chairman for 1963 Professor Hilary Conroy of the University of Pennsylvania and as Local Arrangements Chairman, Professor Clement Motten of Temple University.

The Executive Secretary gave the places of the Annual Meetings for the next

four years: the Sheraton and other hotels in Philadelphia, 1963; the Sheraton and Shoreham Hotels, Washington, D. C., 1964; the San Francisco Hilton, San Francisco, California, 1965; and the New York Hilton, New York City, 1966.

Professor Bemis presented a full account of the discussions of the Joint Canadian-United States Committee for Cooperation. He mentioned the joint scholarly meetings that had been held or are being held and the contribution of \$1,000 by an anonymous donor toward a prize on the history of Canadian-United States relations. He gave particular attention to the possibility of a joint meeting of the Canadian Historical Association and the American Historical Association in 1967. After considerable discussion, the Council approved the following resolution:

The Council of the American Historical Association, having at hand the letter of Lieutenant Colonel T. M. Hunter, English Language Secretary of the Canadian Historical Association, of November 14, 1962, to Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, in which the Canadian Historical Association states that it would be delighted if the American Historical Association would hold its 1967 meeting in Canada and thereby assist the Canadian Historical Association in celebrating the centenary of Canadian Confederation, expresses its appreciation of the sentiments conveyed and resolves to have its 1967 meeting in Toronto and to proceed with a joint program in consultation with the Committee established by the two Associations.

The Executive Secretary then discussed various special projects. The Historical Association (Britain) and the American Historical Association have appointed committees to provide a plan for the study of bias in the textbooks of Great Britain and the United States. Professor Richard McCormick, chairman of the American Committee, and the Executive Secretary have met with their colleagues of the British Committee, and working parties are being appointed. This study is supported by funds provided by the Nuffield Trust and the Ford Foundation.

The Council approved a reduction in size of the Committee on Research Needs and the continuation on the committee of the following historians: Professor Roderic H. Davison, chairman, David Donald, Charles Gibson, Earl Pritchard, Leonard Krieger (newly elected), Hunter Dupree, and Boyd C. Shafer (*ex officio*). The Council understands that the committee will reshape its proposals and present a new plan to foundations.

A proposal from the Macmillan Company for an "Encyclopedia of American History" was tabled without prejudice.

The Assistant Executive Secretary and the Executive Secretary discussed the work of the Service Center. The pamphlets, now being distributed by the Macmillan Company, are in wide demand as are the conferences between professional historians and teachers in the schools. The Council, having approved additional funds for conferences, took no further action, but expressed its approval of what was being done.

For the regular and special committees of the Association, the Council approved nominations for new members as these were presented by the Committee on Committees:

Committee on Ancient History.—Chester Starr, University of Illinois, chairman;

- Paul Alexander, University of Michigan; T. R. S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).
- Committee on Committees.*—Donald Emerson, University of Washington;* Joe Frantz, University of Texas; Louis Morton, Dartmouth College; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).
- Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.*—David Donald, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Richard Current, University of Wisconsin;* Kenneth Stampp, University of California (Berkeley).
- Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.*—Charles Barker, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Samuel Flagg Bemis, Yale University; Arthur Bestor, University of Washington; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Thomas LeDuc, Oberlin College; Richard Leopold, Northwestern University; Maurice Matloff, Washington, D. C.; Louis Morton, Dartmouth College;* Jeannette Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Washington, D. C.; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).
- Committee on Honorary Members.*—Charles Morley, Ohio State University, chairman; Howard Cline, Library of Congress (appointed later)*; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Oscar Handlin, Harvard University; George Mosse, University of Wisconsin; Franklin Scott, Northwestern University;* Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).
- Committee on International Historical Activities.*—Arthur Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Waldo Leland, Washington, D. C.; John Curtiss, Duke University; Martin McGuire, Catholic University of America; John Rath, University of Texas; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Eugen Weber, University of California (Los Angeles); Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).
- Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.*—Edward Dumbauld, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Alfred Kelly, Wayne State University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Paul Murphy, University of Minnesota;* Joseph H. Smith, New York City; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).
- Committee on Maritime History.*—Frederic C. Lane, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Melvin Jackson, Smithsonian Institution;* Waldo Leland, Washington, D. C.; Vernon Tate, United States Naval Academy; Walter M. Whitehill, Boston Athenæum.
- Committee on the Professional Register.*—Dean Albertson, Brooklyn College; Harold Davis, American University; Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University; Rayford Logan, Howard University; Walter Rundell, Jr., American Historical Association; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).
- Committee on Research Needs.*—Roderic Davison, George Washington University, chairman; David Donald, Johns Hopkins University; Hunter Dupree, University of California (Berkeley); John Higham, University of Michigan (appointed later)*; Leonard Krieger, Yale University;* Charles Gibson, State University of Iowa; Earl Pritchard, University of Arizona; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

* New member this year.

- Committee on Scholarly Historical Resources.***—Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University, chairman; Lester Born, Library of Congress; David Dowd, University of Florida; Dewey Grantham, Vanderbilt University; Walter Johnson, University of Chicago; John Snell, Tulane University; Burton Stein, University of Minnesota (appointed later); Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).
- Committee on South Asian History.*—Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Robert I. Crane, Duke University; Earl Pritchard, University of Arizona; David Owen, Harvard University; Burton Stein, University of Minnesota; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).
- Committee on Teaching (Service Center for Teachers of History).*—Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, chairman; Robert Coon, Lakewood, Colorado;* William Cartwright, Duke University; Margareta Faissler, Baltimore, Maryland; Frank Freidel, Harvard University;* Stanley Idzerda, Michigan State University; Agnes Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Jim Pearson, University of Texas;* Walker Wyman, Wisconsin State College (Whitewater); Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).
- Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.*—William Shanahan, University of Oregon, chairman; Theodore Hamerow, University of Wisconsin; Arthur Wilson, Dartmouth College.*
- Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.*—John Snell, Tulane University, chairman; Victor Mamatey, Florida State University; Charles Delzell, Vanderbilt University.*
- Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.*—Hugh Aitken, University of California (Riverside), chairman; John Higham, University of Michigan; Richard Morse, Yale University;* David Shannon, University of Wisconsin; James Smith, College of William and Mary.
- Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.*—Thomas Cochran, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Don Fehrenbacher, Stanford University; Wesley Craven, Princeton University.*
- Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.*—Robert J. Walcott, College of Wooster, chairman; Jack Hexter, Washington University; Wallace MacCaffrey, Haverford College; R. K. Webb, Columbia University; David Willson, University of Minnesota.
- Committee on the Watumull Prize.*—Robert I. Crane, Duke University, chairman; Burton Stein, University of Minnesota;* Stephen Hay, University of Chicago.

Three committees appointed jointly by other historical associations and the American Historical Association are:

- Canadian-United States Committee for Cooperation.*—Albert Corey, Albany, New York, chairman;* W. K. Ferguson, University of Western Ontario; T. M. Hunter, Ottawa, Canada; C. P. Stacey, University of Toronto; Samuel Flagg Bemis, Yale University; John Galbraith, University of California (Los Angeles).
- The Historical Association (Britain) and American Historical Association Committee on National Bias in Textbooks.*—E. H. Dance, G. R. Potter, Reginald F. Treharne (British members), and Ray Billington, Richard McCormick, Caroline Robbins (United States members).

* New member this year.

** New committee this year.

Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association Committee on Censorship in Textbooks.—Vernon Carstensen, University of Wisconsin, chairman; W. D. Aeschbacher, Mississippi Valley Historical Association; John Caughey, University of California (Los Angeles); John F. Dickey, Valley Station, Kentucky; John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College; Joe Frantz, University of Texas; Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University; R. W. Patrick, University of Florida; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

The following delegates of the Association were elected or re-elected: *American Council of Learned Societies*, George Pierson, Yale University (for the term 1963–1965); Board of *Social Education* (NCSS), Thomas P. Mendenhall, Smith College (for the term 1963–1965); *Social Science Research Council*, Louis Morton, Dartmouth College (for the term 1963–1965).

The Council approved the appointment of a new Committee on Scholarly Historical Resources, which is to be composed of: Robert F. Byrnes, chairman; Lester Born, David Dowd, Dewey Grantham, Walter Johnson, John Snell, Burton Stein (appointed later), and Boyd C. Shafer (ex officio).

After considerable discussion, the Council decided to table the report of the Committee on Honorary Members and ask this committee for additional nominations, which the Council may consider at its next meeting. The Council took this action hoping to widen the choice. Members of the Council were asked to correspond with members of this committee if they had suggestions.

For the Pacific Coast Branch, Professor John A. Schutz, Secretary-Treasurer, reported that both the activities of the Branch and attendance at its meetings were increasing. A complete report of the Branch will be found in the *Annual Report* of the Association, *Proceedings* for 1962. For the national meeting in 1965, the Executive Secretary will consult with the members of the Branch.

The Executive Secretary spoke of the plans for the *Newsletter*, which began to appear in December 1962, and mentioned the wide favorable response. These plans had been previously approved by the Executive Committee. The Executive Secretary mentioned the possibility that the *Newsletter*, in response to demand, might be expanded.

After considerable discussion in which members of the Council took differing views, the proposal of the Macmillan Company to publish the presidential addresses of the last twenty-five years was approved.

The Conference on Latin American History proposed to present funds to the Association for a Clarence Haring Prize in Latin American History of five hundred dollars to be awarded every five years. The Council accepted the proposal, with the provision that the Conference be asked to increase the capital fund to three thousand dollars, and with the understanding that the customary rules and regulations of the Association, as they have outlined to the Conference on Latin American History, would be followed. In addition, the Council provided that in the future no prize would be accepted by the Association unless a capital sum of at least five thousand dollars be made available to the Association.

A proposal favoring a multivolume work on the Habsburg monarchy was tabled without an expression of views on the part of the Association.

The Council expressed regret that adequate attention was not given to history

in the new *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* and believed that historians would not regard the new encyclopedia with favor.

Vice-President Brinton was appointed chairman of the Executive Committee and the Finance Committee, replacing Professor Frederic C. Lane who retires from the Council. Other members of the two committees will be the same as those for 1962. The Executive Committee consists of Professors Samuel Flagg Bemis, Carl Bridenbaugh, Elmer Louis Kayser, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, and Dr. Boyd C. Shafer. Elmer Louis Kayser and Boyd C. Shafer make up the Finance Committee. The Council then provided that in the future the President of the Association should, as a rule, act as chairman of these two committees.

For the Committee on Resolutions, Councilors Walter Johnson and Charles Mullett were selected.

Two proposals for a "Guide to Historical Periodical Literature" and for a new Committee on Historical Sites were tabled. The Council believed that a "Guide to Historical Periodical Literature" was too large a task to undertake at this time and that other groups which the Association supports could provide for the preservation of historical sites.

A committee composed of Professors Caughey, Lane, and Post reported on a retirement plan for employees of the Association. The Council asked that the Association provide fully adequate retirement funds and recommended a retirement age of sixty-five with yearly appointments to age seventy. The Council accepted this plan with the provision that details be worked out by the Finance Committee.

The Council adjourned at approximately 4:45 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
THE CONRAD HILTON HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
DECEMBER 29, 1962, 4:30 P.M.

President Carl Bridenbaugh called the meeting to order with approximately one hundred members present (about sixty additional members came later). The minutes of the last meeting (*AHR*, LXVII [Apr. 1962], 888-90) were approved.

The Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review*, Boyd C. Shafer, gave his annual report (see pages 884-90).

The Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser, presented his report for 1961-1962. On August 31, 1962, the Association had \$88,137.67 cash on hand for general purposes, a decrease of \$14,080.15 from the preceding year. Unrestricted funds, in the custody of the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York and under the direction of the Board of Trustees, amounted to \$286,029.05. The Association headquarters and equipment were valued at \$78,798.66. The total assets available for general purposes, therefore, totaled \$452,965.38. The Treasurer also reported that various restricted funds totaled \$432,053.12. Hence the total assets of the Association, if the *book value* of the permanent investments is used, amounted to \$885,018.50. If, however, the *market value* of the permanent investments is noted, the total assets amounted to \$1,112,030.00. The Treasurer pointed out that because of the changing portfolio of the Association the *book value* of the investments had in-

creased \$54,701.42 but that because of the declining *market value* of the investments and of other factors, the total assets of the Association had declined \$23,795.17 in *market value*.

The present favorable financial condition of the Association, the Treasurer stated, was principally the result of the increasing number of members, but he noted that costs were mounting rapidly.

The report, which was distributed at the meeting, and may be examined at the Association's headquarters, was accepted without dissent. The report will be published in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, Volume I, *Proceedings*, 1962.

Professor Stow Persons of the State University of Iowa, chairman of the Nominating Committee, reported for the committee. For the officers of the Association the following were nominated for 1963: President, Crane Brinton, Harvard University; Vice-President, Julian Boyd, Princeton University; Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University. Upon instruction, the Executive Secretary cast one ballot for these nominees, and they were unanimously elected. Reporting on the mail ballot, Professor Persons announced that Professor Robert Byrnes of Indiana University and Dr. Louis Wright of the Folger Library were elected to the Council of the Association, and that Professors David Donald of Johns Hopkins University, John Tate Lanning of Duke University, and John Snell of Tulane University were elected to the Nominating Committee. Professor Persons' report was unanimously accepted.

The Executive Secretary reported upon actions taken by the Council at its meeting on December 27 (see pages 890-96). He announced places of meeting through 1967; the 1963 Program Chairman, Professor Hilary Conroy of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Local Arrangements Chairman, Professor Clement Motten of Temple University; the new appointments to various Association committees; the selection of delegates to several scholarly groups; and the appointment of Professor C. Bradford Welles of Yale University to the Board of Editors, replacing Professor Mason Hammond of Harvard University, whose term had expired. The Executive Secretary noted particularly that the Association, responding to a communication from the Canadian Historical Association that it would be delighted to have the American Historical Association meet in Canada to assist the Canadian Historical Association in the celebration of the centenary of Canadian Confederation, planned to meet in Toronto in 1967.

Professor John Schutz of Whittier College gave the report of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association and revealed its thriving state.

For the Committee on Resolutions, Professor Charles Mullett proposed the following:

With enthusiasm the new members of the Council applaud the wisdom of their seniors in choosing a hotel admirably equipped to handle a convention. For the whole Association we extend our deep thanks to Bernard Weisberger and the members of his Program Committee and to Martin Lowery and the members of the Local Arrangements Committee for their efforts in making this convention both enlightening and bearable.

The resolution was approved with acclamation.

As no other business was proposed, President Bridenbaugh, on the motion of Professor Lawrence Gipson, one of the oldest members of the profession and the Association, adjourned the meeting at 5:40 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

In 1963 the American Historical Association will meet at the Sheraton and other hotels, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 28–30. Hilary Conroy of the University of Pennsylvania is Chairman of the Program Committee, and Clement Motten of Temple University is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has designated Mme. Ulane Bonnel as its representative in Paris for 1963 in connection with the photocopying of French manuscripts relating to America. Mme. Bonnel, with the title of *déleguée* of the Library of Congress, will receive her instructions through the Manuscript Division and will be responsible for making detailed searches in French repositories to locate documents relating to America; her reports and recommendations to the Manuscript Division will provide the basis for an expanded photocopying program to be financed through the Library's James B. Wilbur Fund. This appointment is the latest step taken by the Library in a series of measures intended to enlarge the Library's old and well-known program to acquire copies of European sources relating to America. The program began in 1905 to obtain hand transcriptions of selected manuscripts.

Early in this century the Librarian of Congress, Dr. Herbert Putnam, turned for advice and cooperation to the American Historical Association and to the Bureau (later Department) of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Members of the Association's public archives commission were entrusted with selecting, for the Library, the documents to be copied. The bureau, under the direction of J. Franklin Jameson, undertook to compile the well-known and widely used series of guides to materials relating to America in foreign archives and libraries. Between 1907 and 1943, guides to manuscripts in England, France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and Russia, and in Canada and Mexico as well, were published by the Carnegie Institution. Most of these had been completed before Dr. Jameson left the institution to become chief of the Library's Manuscript Division in 1928.

With the rich fund of information available in the guides, the Library could immediately enlarge its copying program when, in 1925, it received from James B. Wilbur of Vermont a generous endowment fund for copying in Europe and, in 1927, a gift from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to support extensive copying in Europe and America over a five-year period. In most cases it was possible to turn from transcribing to photostating or microfilming. From 1927 to 1929 this expanded program was directed by Samuel Flagg Bemis and from 1929 to 1932 by Worthington C. Ford. By 1933 it was estimated that about two million

manuscript pages had been copied. It can safely be estimated that nearly a million pages have been copied and added to the collection since then, largely on proceeds from the Wilbur Fund; some of these, however, are photocopies of manuscripts that were first transcribed in the early years of the program. They have been drawn from the countries named above, for which published guides were available, and from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Argentina, Chile, and Yucatan. These reproductions, unlike the Library's original manuscripts, are subject to interlibrary loan.

Since the Second World War the Library has continued, generally on a limited scale, to photocopy manuscripts and unpublished guides to manuscripts in European archives. In April 1961 the Library called a number of historians, archivists, and librarians to a one-day conference in order to announce and to plan another expansion of this program. The plans called for increasing activity in countries other than England, where copying since World War II had been largely centered, and by seeking manuscripts of later date and of types other than the diplomatic, political, and military materials, which had been given preference.

Last summer, Daniel J. Reed, assistant chief of the Manuscript Division, went as a representative of the Library to the Netherlands, West Germany, France, England, and Ireland in order to discuss the Library's present plans with the officers of principal libraries and archives and to learn of additional materials not yet copied for the Library. This trip was successful in a number of ways. Among its results are the recent appointment of Mme. Bonnel and the placing of a number of orders for copies of additional manuscripts in several countries.

The Library, wishing to be of assistance to inquiring scholars and institutions and anxious to avoid unintentional duplication of programs and unnecessary waste of the limited resources available for such expensive undertakings, would like to learn of all extensive photocopying programs recently completed, currently in progress, or planned for the future. This information should be sent to the Chief, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C.

Among recent accessions of the National Archives are case files for the most important labor-management dispute mediation cases handled by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service during the fiscal year 1955 and other records of the service, 1957-1959, known as "special assignment cases," containing information on measures taken to promote good labor-management relations and prevent disputes from arising. Also received were records of the Railroad Marine Workers Commission and the Railroad Lighter Captains Commission, established by the President in 1961 to investigate railroad marine disputes in New York Harbor; documents relating to the ratification by the states of the Twenty-third Amendment to the Constitution; and records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1952, relating to its approval or disapproval of the acquisition of lands for national forests in the eastern United States.

The National Archives has recently published two preliminary inventories of parts of its holdings: Number 148, *Records of the Dominican Customs Receivership*, and Number 149, *Records of the Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry*.

Among microfilm publications recently completed are Records of the De-

partment of State Relating to World War I and Its Termination, 1914-1929 (518 rolls); the Index to the Letters Received by the Confederate Secretary of War, 1861-1865 (34 rolls); the Index to the Letters Received by the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General and by the Confederate Quartermaster General, 1861-1865 (41 rolls); Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from Georgia (1 roll), Kentucky (515 rolls), Louisiana (49 rolls), Maryland (238 rolls), Tennessee (220 rolls), and Virginia (7 rolls); and Indexes to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from Arkansas (4 rolls), Georgia (1 roll), Kentucky (30 rolls), Louisiana (4 rolls), Maryland (13 rolls), Mississippi (1 roll), Missouri (54 rolls), North Carolina (2 rolls), Tennessee (16 rolls), Texas (2 rolls), and Virginia (1 roll). Filming has been continued from 1826 through 1906 on Notes from Foreign Legations in the United States to the Department of State for France (25 rolls) and Spain (20 rolls).

Since the death of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt on November 7, 1962, her estate has turned over to the Roosevelt Library nearly all of her papers that were not required temporarily for administration or tax purposes. In accordance with stipulations in Mrs. Roosevelt's deed of gift to the library, her papers are closed to research until they have been reviewed and classified. The library would appreciate receiving information about materials pertaining to Mrs. Roosevelt and about any letters received from her. Address the Director, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. Additions were received to several bodies of papers already in the library: those of Rear Admiral Wilson Brown, naval aide to President Roosevelt, 1934-1936 and 1943-1945, including his unpublished autobiography, "From Sail to Carrier Task Force"; papers of Stanley High, 1935-1937, given by Mrs. High; and papers of Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, 1930-1945.

Beginning with the first session of the Eighty-eighth Congress, published slip laws for all public laws enacted will carry legislative history references. These will include references to the committee reporting the bill, the numbers of the pertinent House and Senate reports, and *Congressional Record* citations to actions on the bill in the House and Senate. The added information is designed to save countless hours of research for librarians, lawyers, and others who rely on legislative histories for interpretation of the law. Tables of legislative history references will also be included in the *United States Statutes at Large* effective with Volume LXXVII.

At the National Historical Publications Commission meeting in Washington on November 28, 1962, a report, in preparation since the commission's previous meeting in March, was considered and approved. It is expected to be published in February 1963. The first major report to be published since 1954, it reviews in an appendix progress since that time with respect to specific projects the commission has encouraged and aided. The main part of the report, however, considers the present status of documentary publication in American history in general, the problems involved in editing and publishing in both letterpress and microfilm according to modern standards, and the difficulties arising from irregular and inadequate financial support for such undertakings. The commission then presents a plan of financing, calling for both private and government funds,

that it feels will best meet the needs for a balanced ten-year program. Another meeting is planned for March to consider further steps in implementing the recommendations of the report.

The Public Record Office of Great Britain has begun a new program of publishing certain classes of original public records on three-by-five micro-opaque cards. Presently available in the card series are: *Privy Council Registers, Charles I, June 1631–May 1637*, and *Treasury Minute Books, 1719–22 and 1725–28*. Soon to be available are selected materials from Confidential Prints, volumes in the Foreign Office and Colonial Office records in which were printed the principal dispatches and proceedings relating to particular incidents or negotiations. Eight volumes relating to the American Civil War and five hundred pages of Proceedings of the Colonial Conference in 1887 will be the first to be put on cards. It is also proposed that certain unpublished Search Room Lists will be put on cards, including the entire Colonial Office class list, and a list of the Protocols of Treaties among the Foreign Office records, 1778–1902. If these early publication ventures prove successful and if the demand is sufficient, micro-opaque cards can be issued for such series as the Secretary of State out-letter books (domestic and foreign) for the eighteenth century; minutes of the Treasury and Board of Trade from the mid-eighteenth century onward; and further volumes of Confidential Prints and Search Room Lists. A new and comprehensive "Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office" will be published to replace Giuseppi's *Guide* and to include the large accessions of records over the last forty years. A paperback series of detailed sectional guides to particular groups of records will begin to appear in 1963; the first will be a guide to the records of the Colonial Office. Further information on these programs can be obtained from the Secretary, Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, W. C. 2, or the British Information Services, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.

Recent additions to the Manuscripts Collection of the University of Washington Libraries include political papers: Hugh B. Mitchell (US senator, 1945–1948, congressman, 1949–1953, president, League for Columbia Valley Authority), Donald H. Magnuson (congressman, 1952–1962), Peter Iverson (state senator, 1913–1920), William Earl Millikin (Seattle mayor, King County auditor, 1935–1942); and papers relating to water resources and conservation: Edward W. Allen (International Fisheries Commission, International North Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission, and fisheries in general), Walter O. Barnes (Alaskan fisheries, ca. 1905–1930), Irving M. Clark, Sr. (conservation, public affairs), Columbia Basin Inter-Agency Committee (official archival depository of CBIAC), Washington State Conservation Society (ca. 1929–1946), Northwest Public Power Association (official archival depository of NPPA), Washington Public Utility Districts' Association (official archival depository of WPUDA).

The Brooklyn College Library, through the offices of the department of history, has received forty-five boxes of the papers of Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review*. The papers deal with the period 1940–1958. Among the files are

Cousins' correspondence and materials dealing with the United World Federalists, the Hiroshima Maidens, Project X, and the Office of War Information.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

Recipients of recent Rockefeller Foundation grants include these historians: Robert J. C. Butow, Hans W. Gatzke, Donald G. Gillin, John Gimbel, Paul Mus, Donald E. Queller, William E. Scott, Gerhard L. Weinberg, Alan F. Westin, and F. Roy Willis.

Historians receiving Social Science Research Council grants are: *Faculty Research Fellowships*—Herbert J. Bass, William M. Bowsky, Stuart Bruchey, Richard Drinnon, Stanley M. Elkins, Paul W. Gates, Charles M. Gray, John F. C. Harrison, Richard Herr, Walter LaFeber, Christopher Lasch, Henry F. May, Walter Cecil Richardson, and William R. Taylor. *Grants-in-Aid*—Norman Dain, Margaret Gay Davies, Oscar J. Hammen, M. R. Powicke, Charles Rosenberg, Paul W. Schroeder, Herbert A. Strauss, David H. Willson. *International Conference Travel Grants*—Frederic C. Lane.

The American Association for State and Local History awarded grants-in-aid for 1963 to the following historians: Jane Douglas Summers Brown, Loyd D. Easton, Sidney Glazer, Herbert G. Gutman, Jules Alexander Karlin, Robert D. Lambert, Roy W. Meyer, William Earl Parrish, and Samuel Proctor. Information about these grants, awarded annually, can be secured from the American Association for State and Local History, 151 East Gorham Street, Madison 3, Wisconsin.

Alan Cassels of the University of Pennsylvania won the Society for Italian Historical Studies' prize for 1962 for his essay, "Mussolini and German Nationalism 1922-1925."

Phi Alpha Theta, national honor society in history, offers biennial book awards, annual graduate study awards, and annual prize paper awards. Further information can be secured from Mr. Donald B. Hoffman, 2812 Livingston Street, Allentown, Pennsylvania.

Inquiries regarding grants from the National Institutes of Health for study in the history of medicine or in any health-related science can be addressed to Dr. James H. Cassidy, Executive Secretary, History of the Life Sciences Study Section, Division of Research Grants, NIH, Bethesda 14, Maryland.

The Society of American Archivists and American University, Washington, D. C., will administer the Gondos Award, an essay prize of \$100, to be offered at the next annual meeting of the society at Raleigh, North Carolina. For additional information, write to Miss Alice E. Smith, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 816 State Street, Madison, Wisconsin.

The Historical Foundation of Pennsylvania, established on July 14, 1961, is considering and accepting applications for grants in four areas related to Pennsyl-

vania history: history education, historic sites, research and publication, and the preservation of historical artifacts. Those interested can secure applications from Dr. Alfred D. Sumberg, East Stroudsburg State College, East Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania.

PUBLICATIONS

The editorial offices of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* will move to Indiana University on July 1, 1963. Oscar O. Winther and Chase C. Mooney will become managing editor and associate editor, respectively, replacing William C. Binkley and Philip F. Detweiler of Tulane University, where the journal has been edited for sixteen years.

The Center for Japanese Social and Political Studies (*Nihon Shakai Shisō Kenkyūsho*), recently established, will begin publication of the *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan* three times a year, beginning in April 1963. Each issue will contain English condensations of approximately thirty articles taken from contemporary magazines.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

The American Antiquarian Society celebrated its 150th anniversary at the society's library in Worcester, Massachusetts, October 16, 1962, with a seminar on "The Endowed Historical Society."

The fall meeting of the Conference on British Studies was held at New York University on October 27, 1962. Raleigh Skelton, of the British Museum, read a paper entitled "The Land Surveyor in English History." Elizabeth Kimball, Princeton, New Jersey, commented.

RECENT DEATHS

William Lytle Schurz, with long service as a Latin Americanist in scholarship, writing, teaching, and government service, died in Phoenix, Arizona, on July 25, 1962, at the age of seventy-six. He was educated at the University of California (Ph.D., 1915), with two years of research in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, and was for two years on the faculty of the University of Michigan. Then followed eight years with the Department of Commerce. He acted as economic adviser to the Machado government in Cuba (1926-1927). After various business and editorial assignments, he served as assistant chief of the Cultural Relations Division of State (1941-1945), and as acting chief of American Republics Division of State (1945-1946). Since 1946 he has been associated with the American Institute for Foreign Trade at Phoenix. His books include *The Manila Galleon* (1939), *Latin America: A Descriptive Survey* (1941), *This New World: The Civilization of Latin America* (1954), and *Brazil, The Infinite Country* (1961). He was a gifted interpreter of the Latin Americans whom he knew and loved so well. He traveled often and long, knew the hard places in Brazil, Paraguay, and Bolivia as well as he knew the cities. No student of Latin America has contributed more generously to an understanding of our neighbors to the south.

Charles Roger Hicks, retired head of the department of history and political science at the University of Nevada, died September 1, at the age of seventy-four.

H. A. T. Simmonds, Honorary Secretary of the Historical Association (Britain), died in mid-November.

William Ezra Lingelbach died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 24, at the age of ninety-one. In this life of almost a century, he rounded out two distinct careers which, themselves, were overlaid with untiring and unselfish devotion to many other public, civic, and academic services. Born on March 17, 1871, in Shakespeare, Ontario, he obtained his B.A. degree in 1894 at the University of Toronto, where he was also captain of the football team. He did his graduate work at the Universities of Leipzig, Chicago, and Pennsylvania and received his Ph.D. degree at the last institution in 1901. It was at Pennsylvania that he spent his entire university teaching career in the field of modern European history, rising through the ranks from instructor (1900) to dean of the college of arts and science (1939-1941). His numerous publications ranged far and wide, including *The Merchant Adventurers of England* (1902), *The Internal Organization of the Merchant Adventurers of England* (1903), *Portrait of an Historian, Edward Potts Cheyney* (1935), and *Approaches to American Social History* (1937). Two of his important articles in the *American Historical Review* were "Saxon-American Relations, 1778-1828" (XVII [Apr. 1912]) and "Belgian Neutrality: Its Origin and Interpretation" (XXXIX [Oct. 1933]). Yet, beyond these written studies and his routine teaching, his greatest contribution to historical scholarship was a whole company of young historians who issued forth from his inspiring research seminar in diplomatic history. A privileged company they were, for they alone came to know the fullness of his learning, the warmth of his personal affection, and the dignity and the strength of his character. Among them now are a few college presidents, several academic deans, and many chairmen of history departments across the nation. Three of them were winners of the George Louis Beer Prize. In 1959 these former students, together with their own students and some of their master's professional admirers, had the joy of presenting him with an appropriate book of homage, the *Guide to the Diplomatic Archives of Western Europe*.

In 1942 he had already begun his second career as librarian of the American Philosophical Society, which he had been previously serving as vice-president, councilor, secretary, and publications director. As librarian he devoted himself to continuing the collection of original materials, especially on Benjamin Franklin, on the history of American science and culture, and on the linguistic study of the North American Indian. In addition to collecting papers relating to Franklin, he also published seven scholarly articles on him and seven others on the Library of the American Philosophical Society and its holdings (in *APS Proceedings* and *Library Bulletin*). Finally Lingelbach crowned his second career by bringing to realization the new building of the Library of the American Philosophical Society. In 1957 this grand old gentleman and scholar of Philadelphia retired for a second time at the age of eighty-six. "Under his leadership," said the president

of the society, "the Library . . . has become of national importance as a research center in its fields of specialization."

Yet, beyond the call of his regular duties, he also gave unstintingly of himself in such professional and civic activities as member of the Council and chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Historical Association, chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies, chairman of the Pennsylvania Commission on the Conservation of Cultural Resources, president of the History Teachers Association of the Middle States and Maryland, member of the Administrative Board of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vice-president of the Independence Hall Association of Philadelphia, member of the Science Committee of the National Resources Planning Board, and member of the US Navy's Advisory Committee on Naval History. Lingelbach's last five years were devoted to these public activities up until a few days before his death, and even from his hospital bed his keen mind and unquenched enthusiasm offered encouragement and words of wisdom to his fellow workers who sought him out for guidance right up to the very end.

Reinhard Henry Luthin, biographer of Abraham Lincoln and teacher of American history, died in New York City, November 24, at the age of fifty-seven. He will perhaps be best remembered for his *The Real Abraham Lincoln: A Complete One Volume History of His Life and Times*, described in the *American Historical Review* as "more useful than any other single volume." It was the culmination of a lifetime of interest in our sixteenth President. Luthin's first book, written in collaboration with Harry Carman, *Lincoln and the Patronage*, was published in 1943. The following year his *The First Lincoln Campaign* was brought out. With an equally keen interest in contemporary politics, he turned out a courageous volume in 1954, *American Demagogues: Twentieth Century*, containing lives of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Huey Long, James Curley of Boston, Bilbo of Mississippi, and others. Almost the last thing he did was to mail in a long sketch of Lincoln to complete the lives of the Presidents, which he had been writing for the revised *Collier's Encyclopedia*. Luthin had taught at Columbia and Trinity Colleges, and more recently at the University of Pittsburgh. His knowledge and memory were prodigious, but he wrote history, as he said, "for the only reason that anyone should, because one loves it." He was a cosmopolitan figure, an independent scholar, and a writer of Johnsonian dimensions, as well known to some of the best chefs of New York City as to figures in the publishing world.

James Taylor, head of the Social Science Division at Southwest Texas State College, San Marcos, Texas, died November 26, at the age of sixty-one. He received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Texas. Before assuming the chairmanship of the Social Science Division at Southwest Texas State College in 1946, he taught at Texas Woman's University, Lamar Technical College, Stephen F. Austin State College, and the University of Texas. He served as president of the Texas Association of College Teachers and played a leading role in the establishment of the annual conference of the Texas Council for the Social Studies. In 1958 he served as visiting professor of history at the University of

Texas where his assignment included working with the social studies teachers in the Texas public schools. During World War II he served as Lieutenant Colonel in the US Air Force and was historian for the Seventh Air Force. He contributed to *The Army Air Forces in World War II*. In 1962 a lectureship in his honor was established at Southwest Texas State College.

Joe L. Norris, associate professor at Wayne State University, died December 4, at the age of fifty-six. He received his Ph.D. degree in 1938 from the University of Chicago; in that same year he joined the history faculty at Wayne State. A popular teacher, Norris also contributed to a number of historical journals, was editor of the Wayne University Press, and served on the Wayne University History Project.

Arthur E. R. Boak, emeritus professor of ancient history at the University of Michigan, died December 16, in Ann Arbor. Born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1888, he received his B.A. degree from Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, in 1907, his M.A. from Harvard University in 1911, and his doctorate from Harvard in 1914. During those years he served as a tutor in Latin at Queen's University (1906-1907) and lecturer in Greek at McGill University College (1907-1910); he studied for two years abroad (1912-1914) at the University of Berlin and at the American Academy in Rome. He joined the department of history at the University of Michigan as an instructor in 1914 and served there continuously until his retirement in 1958.

In his long and distinguished career at the University of Michigan, Professor Boak received virtually every honor that his university and the profession could accord. Promoted rapidly to a full professorship in 1920, he was given the title of Richard Hudson Professor of Ancient History in 1940; in 1950 he delivered the Henry Russel lecture and the following year the Thomas Spencer Jerome lectures at the American Academy in Rome; he was chairman of his department from 1930 to 1946; of the many scholarly organizations in which he played an active role, he was elected president of the Michigan Academy of Arts, Sciences and Letters (1933-1934), a member of the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* (1936-1942) and the Council (1949-1951) of the Association, a member of the Council of the Mediaeval Academy (1947-1950), and since 1955 he held the title of honorary president of the *Comité International de Papyrologie*.

Author or coauthor of eleven books and over one hundred articles in historical and archaeological journals, Professor Boak was a classical scholar of international renown. His first book, *The Master of the Offices in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires* (1919), is cited the world over as an exemplary treatment of a problem in institutional history, and his many volumes of papyrus publications from the University of Michigan Collections have provided much information to ancient historians in all countries; his *Manpower Shortage and the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West* (1955) represents a pioneering effort to apply modern demographic methods to a problem of ancient history; his textbook, *The History of Rome*, now in its fourth edition, has been used in many American colleges and universities.

Always generous of his time in his relations with his colleagues and the many

graduate students who worked under his direction, Professor Boak was as beloved as he was admired and respected by all who knew him. In spite of several heart attacks that impaired his health in his later years, he continued a rigorous schedule of scholarly activity until his death. His passing removes one of the major figures in the historical profession.

Garrett Mattingly was at the height of his extraordinary powers when he died suddenly at Oxford, England, on December 18. For several years his health had been poor, but few suspected that the end was so near. He was on leave from Columbia University to which he came as professor in 1948 and where, in 1959, he was appointed William R. Shepherd Professor of European History. At his death he was Eastman Professor at Oxford, reading his lectures on the Italian Renaissance.

Born in Washington, D. C., on May 6, 1900, he received his education at Harvard and took his degree with Roger B. Merriman. In 1928 he married Gertrude McCollum and for the next decades spent rewarding years in travel and study abroad. In the First World War he served with the Forty-third Infantry and during the second as Lieutenant Commander in the USNR. He was an active member of the American Historical Association and the Renaissance Society of America, a fellow of the Royal Society, and a member of PEN.

Internationally renowned, to a wide public as well as to professionals, he received many honors for his brilliant contributions: fellowships, grants, prize awards, and honorary degrees. For Mattingly, with his verve and color, his eloquence and intense convictions, was himself a Renaissance figure living in the twentieth century. Steeped in humane letters, he was absorbed by the vagaries of human experience and militantly concerned with safeguarding the dignity of man in a culture where many hostile currents were flowing against a millennial heritage that he cherished.

Most of all, he loved life, all of it, and shared in many of its manifestations with courage and lofty partisanship. To listen to him, as with head cocked, his arms sweeping out generous arcs, his smile benign and eyes sparkling, he talked in a flow of words, witty, gay, and serious, about sailing ships and men, herbs and spices, full-bodied wines and rich cheer, about tapestries and paintings, music and poetry, was to see him at his most dazzlingly Renaissance. Fortunately, the full measure of his knowledge and his mellow wisdom is embodied in his writings. In command of sources he was matchless. He checked and verified his data with meticulous rigor. And by the magic of his style, lean and economical, as in that gem of scholarship, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, or richly brocaded, as in the dramatic *Catherine of Aragon* and *The Armada*, he cast a compelling spell over his readers.

His death is an irreparable loss. Of his countless admirers, it is perhaps his graduate students who will miss him most. His graduate courses were enormously popular, attracting the best students to whom he gave of himself with truly prodigal generosity. He taught them to respect scholarship, pursue it honestly, and look with sympathy and imagination at the world of man that he loved.

James Edward King, professor at the University of North Carolina, died De-

ember 23, at the age of forty-six. He received his Ph.D. degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1947, shortly after which he joined the staff of the University of North Carolina. A specialist in French history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, King was the author of several articles and the book *Science and Rationalism in the Government of Louis XIV* (1950). In 1959 he won the Tanner Award, presented annually for outstanding undergraduate teaching.

Arthur L. Throckmorton, chairman of the department of history at Lewis and Clark College, died in Portland, Oregon, on December 24, at the age of forty-nine. Born in Nebraska, he received his M.A. degree at the University of North Carolina, and his Ph.D. degree at the University of Minnesota. He had been at Lewis and Clark College since 1950. His particular interest and affection belonged to the problems of teacher education on the one hand, and to the Oregon Historical Society on the other. His publications include a recent book, *Oregon Argonauts: Merchant Adventurers on the Western Frontier*, which appeared in 1961; death interrupted his related study of the activities of the Hudson Bay Company, to whose London archives a research grant had taken him in the summer of 1962.

Guy Stanton Ford was born at Liberty Corners, Wisconsin, on May 9, 1873; he died on December 29, in the Washington apartment he and Mrs. Ford had occupied since 1941. Between those dates and places stretched a life crammed with contributions to the improvement of historical teaching and research, the maturing of higher education in all its facets, and the inculcation of a sense of community in, as well as between, the "disciplines." To Ford, as to maybe a dozen other men of his generation, the term "academic statesman" can justly be applied.

Ford's preparation for a teaching career ran through Upper Iowa University; Wisconsin, where such men as Ely and Turner were sowing their new seed; three years of public school teaching; Germany, mostly in Berlin (1899-1900); Columbia University, and so in 1903 to the Ph.D. and the publication of his thesis *Hanover and Prussia, 1795-1803: A Study in Neutrality*.

Yale appointed him instructor in 1901 and assistant professor in 1906. Illinois promptly outbid Yale with the offer of its new chair in modern European history, and at thirty-three Ford returned to the Midwest. At Urbana the quality of his scholarship was made evident in his teaching, in the critical appraisals of a dozen books, written for this *Review*, and in modern history "conferences" at Annual Meetings of the Association. Illinois was moving rapidly from gawky "underdeveloped" adolescence to maturity, and Ford helped to steer it through those exciting years. When, therefore, Minnesota's turn came to transform itself from "an overgrown New England College of the West" into a modern state university, George E. Vincent, the dynamic new president, learned of Ford's Illinois record and in 1913 offered him the dual job as chairman of the history department and dean of the virtually nonexistent graduate school at Minnesota.

Ford held the first position till 1931. For the first few years he carried a "full teaching load," ranging from the Freshman European survey course to Senior-graduate classes on Prussian history and Bismarck. He built up his staff, which already included such men as A. B. White and Wallace Notestein, by luring S. J. Buck, A. C. Krey, and C. W. Alvord from Illinois. Then, as throughout his career,

he had an uncanny capacity for spotting promising young teachers and researchers, for attracting them to Minnesota, and for doing his utmost to keep them there. A tireless "fisher of men," he did not confine himself to United States waters; nor did he limit his catch to historians.

In his spare time he worked on his study of *Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia, 1807-1815*, which appeared in 1922. But spare time grew increasingly scarce as "Get Ford!" became a way of solving problems for more and more people or institutions. The Association put him on the Executive Council in 1915; on the "Special Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools" in December 1918, just when he was ending two years' hard labor as head of the Division of Civic and Educational Publications in George Creel's Committee on Public Information; on the Board of Editors in 1920, and as chairman of that Board, 1921-1927; on the "Krey" Commission for Investigation of Social Studies in the Schools in 1929; and in the presidential chair in 1937. Outside our guild he served on the Social Science Research Council (1923-1940), was a director of the National Bureau of Economic Research for some years and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. The Laura Spellman Foundation sent him to Germany in 1924 to see what could be done to restore university efficiency; the Guggenheim Foundation kept him on its advisory council from 1925 till his death. Harpers chose him to edit their "Historical Series," and he was editor in chief of *Compton's Pictured Encyclopaedia*.

To all these tasks Ford brought a quick awareness of the essentials of a situation or problem, a dislike of the grandiose or spectacular, an ability to persuade people to work together for common ends, and what has been called a "winking shrewdness and good temper." In return he learned much about the trends and forces in public and academic life, noted the men of ideas and promise in the many fields he surveyed, and won the good will of the foundations for the university whose rebuilding from the very basement up was his chief continuing purpose. In that work his main role was as right-hand man to two great presidents and as trusted colleague of a group of very able deans. Of the many accomplishments of this team Ford was especially responsible for the development of the graduate school and of the university press. In each case the story was one of "rags to riches," except that in the beginning there was no money for buying rags. In each the growth in size, quality, and prestige was rapid. The graduate school's enrollment climbed from 175 in 1913 to 3,300 in 1938, the year when Ford completed a quarter of a century's work as its dean. His colleagues celebrated this silver jubilee by presenting him with a volume, beautifully produced by the eleven-year-old press, containing a collection of his own essays and articles, aptly entitled *On and Off the Campus*. The regents capped this testimonial by appointing him president of the university.

Three years later, at sixty-eight, he retired from that position and for twelve years served as Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association and editor of its *Review*. During those years the Association's membership increased, while its opportunities, problems, and responsibilities grew immeasurably. Every challenge was met by a valiant response, and when Ford retired at eighty in 1953, it could be said that one more major job had been well done. Yet he was not finished. Physical frailty came slowly and imperceptibly, but the intellectual vigor

and range impressed those who still persisted in asking, and getting, his aid and counsel to the very end. Economists and statesmen today stress the need for "full employment" and "high productivity." Ford enjoyed the former, in both senses of that verb, throughout his life. And if you are searching for monuments to his productivity, look around you—full circle.

The president of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Professor H. F. Schmid, died February 6, 1963, in Vienna at the age of sixty-six. Professor at the University of Vienna, a famed student of Slavic and East European history, a master of many languages, a distinguished leader in international historical activities, Schmid will be sorely missed by colleagues and friends throughout the scholarly historical world.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Norman Pollack's attempt to clear Ignatius Donnelly of the charge of anti-Semitism ("The Myth of Populist Anti-Semitism," *AHR*, LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 76-80) makes quite clear, if it was not clear already, the importance of arriving at an understanding of the nature of anti-Semitism and of prejudice in general. What Pollack does is to show that Donnelly's hostility was directed against Jewish bankers, not against all Jews, and that, in any case, he had ambivalent feelings about the Jews. The question is: do these things characterize the absence of prejudice?

What, for instance, is one to make of a man like Adolf Eichmann? Eichmann presumably qualifies as an anti-Semite, yet he had very ambivalent feelings about the Jews indeed. Or to broaden the field of inquiry, what about the southern attitude toward the Negro? It is surely significant that the middle-class southerner's feelings about the Negro are so much more complicated than his feelings about the poor white. The latter, in his eyes, is simply dirty and unattractive. The Negro, on the other hand, is both powerfully attractive and deeply repulsive, living (as he is imagined by white people to live) unrestrained by the moral code that binds the more "civilized" race. It is possible, in short, that the member of a persecuted race is a mirror in which the persecutor sees the repressed depths of his own unconscious. If that is the case, then ambivalence is probably the very essence of prejudice.

As for Jewish bankers, it is a curious fact of American history that many people who once railed against the Rothschilds later railed against "Jewish" Communism. Charles R. Crane, for example, a progressive who shared Ignatius Donnelly's resentment of Jewish bankers, in the 1930's became an apologist for Nazi Germany as the "real political bulwark of Christian culture." Henry Ford made the same journey. So did most of the people Victor Ferkiss mentions in his "Populist Influences on American Fascism" (*Western Political Quarterly*, X [June 1957], 350-73). Such evidence suggests that a dislike of Jews, if it could later be transferred to the very people who stood for everything the bankers did not, took precedence over the dislike of bankers. It was not that Populists and progressives hated bankers, noted that the Rothschilds were Jews, and then transferred their hatred of the Rothschilds to the Jews in general. It was the other way around.

Hating the Jews in general—or better, having ambivalent feelings about them—they then saw the hand of the Jews in all the conspiracies, real and imagined, that in their eyes threatened American society.

State University of Iowa

CHRISTOPHER LASCH

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his effort in your October 1962 issue to dispose of my book, *The Cold War and Its Origins, 1917–1960*, with finality, Professor John L. Snell goes far indeed.

Surely it is a new technique in book reviewing when a reviewer compares a Harding College propagandist film, "Communism on the Map," with an 1100-page book which is the product of a dozen years of research. One is obviously false, therefore the other is, but in the opposite direction.

He casts doubt upon the credentials of the author as "a professor emeritus of political science" (otherwise unidentified) and castigates his heavy reliance upon secondary works. Four of these that he does not like are listed, and dozens of others of undoubted authority are ignored. Fleming is guilty, too, of relying "heavily" on his home town newspaper (which carries the leading national wire services and columnists). A far heavier use of the *New York Times* and other famous newspapers is ignored. It is said that Lippmann and other leading observers of the cold war are quoted too much. There is repeated complaint that the book is not based on diplomatic documents, and no credit is given for extensive documentary sources used. It is charged that "Fleming is so preoccupied with developments in the Far East that he is blind to many events of major importance in Europe," when actually the section on the Far East occupies less than a fifth of the book's space, and the rest deals with the cold war in Europe, its origins and consequences.

Snell's real objection is, however, that "Fleming's volumes abound" in illusions—a charge repeated four times—and that "too many judgments are founded on assumption and political preference." In other words, the author is guilty of having a viewpoint—and the wrong one.

My first reply to this charge is that my challenge to our accepted cold war assumptions has not offended the great majority of the scholarly men who have reviewed the book. One nationally known historian said in the *New York Times*, on December 24, 1961, "such a book . . . should not be passed by blandly as an 'interesting point of view' or dismissed with abuse"; a second called it "a terrific sweep of international history . . . which should promote thought and discussion" (*Washington Star*, Dec. 26, 1961); a third termed it "a well documented inquiry into the foremost problem of our time which should contribute to a greater understanding of the need to seek solutions" (*Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 26, 1961).

My second reply to the charge of illusory partiality is that Snell's examples of illusion on my part sound very strange to me. How can he deny that "Western intervention in the Russian civil war was on a 'large scale'"? Instead of citing my page 20, he should have cited the major part of Chapter 11. The evidence is there in full. Can there be any real doubt that London and Paris turned Hitler and Mussolini toward Russia, at Munich in 1938 and before? Is it really an illusion that "The Soviets in 1939 'dreaded a pact with Germany, yet the West offered them nothing'"? The pain of decision stands out clearly in the State Department's volumes of documents, *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939–1941*, which I analyzed carefully. Again, why would not Stalin "have been delighted" by the presence of Western armies in Poland in 1943," at the cost of many hundreds of

thousands of lives on our part and with an immense saving of blood and agony for Russia? Nowhere on page 433, as Snell alleges, have I said that "The USSR disarmed in 1945-1946, seeking a 'real relaxation of tension.'"

It comes easily to Snell to label my book "a parody of history," but how does he explain its consideration and publication by the editors of three of the largest and most responsible publishing houses in the world? Doubleday in New York, Allen and Unwin in London, and Feltrinelli in Milan, who also issued Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago*, are together giving my history of the cold war a world hearing.

I share Snell's desire that other books should be written, but I hope that the authors will not wait to begin until all the files are opened to reveal why dead men failed. It is far too late in this cycle of world wars for that. No honest historian can deny that by the bloody record of this century there is an even chance that all the history books, in the Northern Hemisphere at least, will be consumed by atomic fire before the year 2000.

My book, of course, makes no pretense of being an archivist history, but I await with confidence the verdict of future historians on my effort to tell the story of the cold war while something might be done to prevent it from being man's final fling. I do not think, either, that they will resent my record of a multitude of the acts and utterances of the leaders in and observers of the cold war while they were available.

Nor am I disturbed by Snell's final barb that future historians should "show the cold war as tragedy, not as melodrama." Nobody could give a big block of his life to making a chronicle of the cold war without feeling deeply and recording its infinite tragedy.

It should be added that in his essay Snell treats Joseph P. Morray's book, *From Yalta to Disarmament: Cold War Debate*, as he does mine. Four times he lumps our books with the admittedly false film. Certainly Morray's book cannot be so tarred with guilt by association and dismissed. This Harvard-trained lawyer's use of legal reasoning in analyzing many key documents is much too formidable for that. As a very able writer in his prime, much more is likely to be heard from him.

Vanderbilt University

D. F. FLEMING

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

John Snell's two-page review of Professor Fleming's monumental two-volume history of the cold war in your October issue is one of the most distorted and ill-conceived pieces of criticism I have ever encountered. Snell's attack on Fleming's historiographical technique is not only in bad taste, but is justified only by the reviewer's inability to grasp the author's purpose, and is substantiated only by his distortion of the latter's statements.

Fleming's purpose, as accurately cited in the Snell article, is "at every stage to present the other side, how it looks to 'the enemy' in the belief that this is essential to the avoidance of the final grand smash." In view of this it is hard to understand, from the viewpoint of objectivity, why Snell chose to bracket his review of Fleming's work with three other books, all pleading a special case for a side they clearly identify with. This makes it very easy for Snell to speak of the illusions shared by the three works he chooses not to agree with. It shows, moreover, that Snell does not grasp the significance of the author's major intent.

Snell chides Fleming ("neither the factual evidence nor the research methods of the author—a professor emeritus of political science—will seem impressive to

historians”) for giving more space “to Walter Lippmann than to Churchill, Roosevelt, or Stalin.” Yet in a previous paragraph Snell has indicated exactly why this is so, why it is historical method of the first order. “One is reminded,” writes Snell, “of the classic innocence of Stalin in 1936 when he was asked whether Soviet intentions to achieve world revolution had been abandoned: ‘We never had such plans and intentions.’”

Fleming, in seeking to present “the other side,” is faced with a serious problem. Quoting Stalin or Soviet official documents is obviously not a valid procedure because they can always be disclaimed and are at the very least open to doubt. Thus a move by the West that is clearly defensive will inevitably be called aggressive by the Politburo for propaganda purposes. In assessing the content of moves by the West, moreover, it is important to know whether there were any viable alternatives at the time, viable from a Western viewpoint, and known to the Western leaders. To meet these problems the choice of a writer like Walter Lippmann is impeccably correct. Lippmann is not only an astute observer of the international scene, but he is read by Washington. When Lippmann criticizes the Truman Doctrine, it carries a qualitatively different weight for the historian than when *Pravda* criticizes it.

To cite but one instance to illustrate Snell’s massive blindness to the character of Fleming’s work, his critique of the latter’s treatment of the Truman Doctrine will suffice. “The Truman Doctrine in 1947 seemed to be a defensive necessity; Fleming presents it as a warmongering, reactionary, and needless act.” The implication here, and it is a wholly false one, is that Fleming denies the need to send aid to Greece and in effect adopts the Soviet position. But Fleming does not do this. He points out that all the economic aid offered by the Truman Doctrine was available through the veto-free Economic and Social Council of the UN in a plan already drawn up at the time of the Truman Doctrine. This would not preclude the sending of US military aid, according to Fleming, but it would have created a different context in which that aid was sent.

In writing “The Truman Doctrine in 1947 seemed to be a defensive necessity,” Snell speaks in the authentic voice of the cold war. “Our” side acts under the guidance of the general law of reason. But Fleming’s historical method undermines this view with stunning power. Ten pages of citations from contemporary sources show the major part of the publicly expressed opinion (in the free world) sharply critical of the Truman Doctrine for its belligerence, and its by-passing of the UN. Fleming quotes the *New York Times* and the *Nashville Tennessean* as reporting, among other things, that to a “striking extent professional diplomatic quarters, and other non-Communist or anti-Communist quarters, echoed in only slightly attenuated form the Moscow charge of a new and expanding American imperialism.” Among American observers and authorities who put forth vehement and public criticism of the doctrine were Walter Lippmann (“a strategic monstrosity”), Marquis Childs, William L. Shirer, and Thomas L. Stokes. Among those who expressed vehement opposition to it when it was still in embryo was George Frost Kennan (“To say that he found objections to it is to put it mildly,” wrote Joseph M. Jones in *The Fifteen Weeks*). It is only after considering the viable alternatives to the doctrine, the criticism that was offered, the possible motivations that Truman had (e.g., to sway a Republican Congress) that Fleming offers his own thoughts on the subject, and at this point the reader is in a fairly good position to judge for himself the validity of the author’s view.

Snell’s distortions of Fleming’s positions are very numerous; one instance, again, will have to suffice. “The Comintern is mentioned only briefly, and Fleming

writes that its purpose, like that of the Cominform in 1947, 'was defensive.' " The reader of Snell's article can only conclude that Fleming is a hopeless dupe. But the more fortunate reader of the original text will see that Fleming's full statement was this: "The formation of the new Communist Cominform at once recalled to most Americans the old Comintern which had been Russia's chief means of fighting the West down until the middle of the war, when it was dissolved. In both cases the basic purpose of the organization was defensive, but the tactics used were offensive . . ." (p. 482).

Fleming's work is a testament to the genius of democracy, that a scholarly and disciplined mind, operating with materials readily available to the public, can without ideological predilection "see from the other side" and offer a vital, loyal, and courageous criticism of current and past American policies. On the other hand, it is a commentary on the tragic sickness of our time that your reviewer should prefer to wallow in his complacency than even begin to face the discomfiting facts of life.

Uppsala, Sweden

DAVID HOROWITZ

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Readers of this journal who take note of the letters by D. F. Fleming and David Horowitz will undoubtedly wish to read Fleming's two volumes and my review essay before deciding for themselves which of the three of us has resorted to distortion. Since Fleming suggests that I have misquoted his reference (on page 433 of his 1100-page polemical tract) to "a real relaxation of tension on Russia's side" in 1946, I particularly urge readers to consult that page, the previous chapter, and the chapter of which page 433 is a part.

Tulane University

JOHN L. SNELL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I have read the review of my *Der Erzwungene Krieg* by Gerhard L. Weinberg in the October issue of the *American Historical Review* (p. 104). I would like to ask for space to reply to his extremely serious charges against my integrity and scholarship.

Professor Weinberg begins his review as though he were about to discuss a book on theology or political philosophy by stating that my publisher, Dr. Grabert, "was a leading anti-Christian publicist of the 1930's." The truth is that Grabert is a devout Lutheran, and he has been one of the most prolific authors of pro-Christian books and articles in Germany since 1928. Equally wide of the truth is the assertion that Grabert has published many "Neo-Nazi" books and articles since the Second World War. Quite to the contrary, the theme of Grabert's political writings since the war has been a plea for greater academic and political freedom in Germany, and for the Adenauer government to develop a more mature, independent, responsible, and dignified political program.

Weinberg's summary of the general thesis of my book is satisfactory, but he then proceeds to make four specific charges which are comparable to his treatment of my publisher cited above.

(1) It is alleged that all public statements by Hitler after 1933 are taken at face value. Any scholar who took the public statements of Hitler at face value would be no better than a moron. But how could Weinberg square this charge with the exposure on page 758 of *Der Erzwungene Krieg* that Hitler employed false statistics in his vitally important *Reichstag* speech of September 1, 1939?

(2) Hitler's secret statements are deprecated or ignored. A large share of the narrative of the book is based on such statements. But the Hossbach memorandum which Weinberg cites should be first deprecated and then ignored. Hossbach declared in a notarized affidavit on June 18, 1946, that he could not remember if the Nuremberg version of the memorandum corresponded to the one which he had made several days after the allegedly vital conference in 1937 (the original version had since been destroyed).

(3) Transposition ("sequence of events is reversed for dramatic effect"). The examples cited by Weinberg do not prove his charge. The privately negative Polish attitude prior to March 1939 toward Hitler's October 1938 offer is shown at great length in the book. Weinberg's claim that I do not reveal the strong Polish reaction to Hitler's offer before March 1939 is incorrect. The same is true of his assertion that I have placed Lithuania in the Soviet sphere of influence on August 23, 1939. It is clearly stated on page 622 of *Der Erzwungene Krieg* that the Soviet sphere was limited by the northern boundary of Lithuania.

(4) "The fourth and most commonly utilized technique is the twisting of evidence or its total fabrication." This is a very serious charge, and it would be a very difficult one to prove in those rare cases where it might seem to be justified. Weinberg hopefully anticipated something of this sort about a book toward which he is hostile, and it is remarkable and instructive to find him resorting to twisting and fabrication in trying to prove his point. The issue is my treatment of a lengthy report by Adam von Trott zu Solz (*Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Volume VI, Number 497). My general impression of this report, which contains numerous items, is as follows: "Er [Chamberlain] erweckte damit den Eindruck, als sei Halifax der Alleinverantwortliche für die britische Politik, und er überlasse alles resigniert dem Lauf der Dinge [He gave the impression that he was allowing things to run their course in resignation, and that Halifax was solely responsible for British policy]." This brief conclusion is, in my opinion, justified by the document, which is properly cited so that the reader may form his own impression. Weinberg cites an isolated statement by Chamberlain to Trott: "Do you believe that I enter into these obligations gladly? Herr Hitler forces me to it." Weinberg adds: "By neatly switching the names, Hoggan makes Halifax into the warmonger, and Hitler into the angel of peace." Quite apart from the fact that I never presented Hitler as an angel of peace, but did demonstrate that he did not want the war in 1939 which the British finally managed to provoke, there is no place in my book where such a switching of names has taken place. Weinberg seeks to create the illusion in the uninformed reader's mind that the entire mass of evidence on Halifax, and on his role, derived from British, American, German, French, Italian, and Polish sources, is entirely dependent upon what he falsely calls this switching of names in a single line, this alleged substitution of Halifax for Hitler.

Weinberg's disagreement is welcome. It is disagreement that enables all historians to learn from their colleagues and to improve their methods and views. In this case, however, we have clearly revealed to us the unmistakable impression of what I would like to call "the eager reviewer," and the impression is not a reassuring one. It has been no more convincing abroad than here. Many letters have reached me to this effect. No doubt he could have done a fair review had he given the matter a little more thought. This deficiency of thought is always the predominant attribute of the eager reviewer, who, as in this case, often scores precisely zero.

Menlo Park, California

DAVID L. HOGGAN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The remark of Professor Gerhard L. Weinberg in the October issue of the *American Historical Review* (p. 104) that I endorsed Dr. Hoggan's volume is surely the outstanding understatement in his review.

I have not only repeatedly endorsed the book, but have also played the leading role in encouraging Dr. Hoggan to expand the project from his Harvard University dissertation of 1948 into the first comprehensive and impressively documented account of the causes of the Second World War in any language. All the main conclusions of the book reviewed were embodied in the dissertation, but the book is over four times as long and certainly more than four times as completely and effectively documented.

When I first read the dissertation late in 1955, I was inclined to dismiss Hoggan's conclusions for I still remained convinced that Hitler had been mainly responsible for the outbreak of war in September 1939. Nevertheless, a dissertation that had been accepted and approved by the most distinguished history department in the world, and surely one of the most vehemently anti-German and pro-British, could not be laughed off lightheartedly. This was especially true because it had been prepared under the personal supervision of Professors William L. Langer and Michael Karpovich, the two leading authorities in the United States on the field covered, aided by Professor Harry R. Rudin, at the time a visiting professor from Yale, and profiting by frequent consultation with no less than Sidney B. Fay and Professor David Owen, chairman of the history department and one of the top authorities on British diplomatic history. Surely no history dissertation was ever prepared under more impressive auspices.

This information led me to look into the matter further. I found that Hoggan had received a grant from one of the most reputable foundations to spend a year in Poland examining the postwar Polish archives and had served three years as a graduate instructor and administrative officer of the notable *Amerika Institut* of the University of Munich, thus enabling him to supplement the study of documents by extensive personal contacts with German experts. Moreover, when Professor Raymond J. Sontag of the University of California received an extended leave of absence to work on the documents seized from Germany after the war, he chose Hoggan as his substitute from the scores of historians available and eager for this highly honorific appointment.

There still remained the very important problem of whether Hoggan was in any way suspect as a partisan of National Socialism and its *Führer*. I found that he had been and still remained a devoted convert to the political and economic doctrines of Robert M. La Follette, Sr., and, hence, was as likely to be enthusiastic about National Socialism and its leaders as Roger Baldwin or Norman Thomas.

On the basis of these credentials, I urged Hoggan gradually to decrease his teaching for the time being and expand his dissertation into the first exhaustive and reliable account of the origins and outbreak of the Second World War, there being no such book in existence in any language. He had been gathering material for such a project during nearly a decade after obtaining his doctorate at Harvard. Owing to the periodic appearance of crucially important new documents, Hoggan drastically revised and rewrote his manuscript some four times after I first regarded it as suitable for publication. Even then, it was far superior to anything that had been published or is in prospect today. A. J. P. Taylor's *Origins of the Second World War* is merely a useful, honest, and readable primer on 1939 compared with the Hoggan manuscript as it stood in 1957.

I believe that it would be no exaggeration to assert that no book on diplomatic history published in the United States in this century has had the advantage of more numerous, rigorous, and authoritative prepublication readings and criticisms by leading specialists, most of them skeptical of Hoggan's conclusions at the outset. None of them found any of the horrendous defects alleged by Weinberg; all of them paid a tribute to the impressive documentation and to the linguistic talents and intellectual integrity of the author, even in the case of those not fully converted to Hoggan's conclusions.

That the book will stir prolonged and heated controversy is as inevitable as it is desirable. As Abelard stated many centuries ago, it is only out of prolonged questioning that final truth ultimately emerges. The current bitter attacks on the book appear to me to be based on the hope of so discrediting the German edition, which few American historians can read easily, that by the time the book appears in English it will be regarded as not worth reading in any language.

Malibu, California

HARRY ELMER BARNES

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

May I reply first to Dr. Hoggan's letter. Some indication of Grabert's background seemed appropriate since it is hardly customary for translators to praise books they have edited on the dust jacket under a pseudonym or to call their own publishing house the Verlag der Deutschen Hochschulelehrer-Zeitung when they have no connection with the Deutsche Hochschulelehrer. The readers of the *AHR* are invited to look at Grabert's *Forschungen zur deutschen Weltanschauungskunde und Glaubensgeschichte*; his biggest book, *Der Glaube des deutschen Bauerntums*; and his edition of Hauer's *Was will die Deutsche Glaubensbewegung?* the manifesto of the neopagan movement. *Volck ohne Führung* and *Wehrkraft in Zwiespalt* are apologias for National Socialism and were, therefore, written under a pseudonym, Hugo C. Backhaus. Grabert's plea for "academic freedom," *Hochschulelehrer klagen an*, is a demand for the reinstatement of all who like himself were dismissed from the universities in 1945 for extreme National Socialist sympathies.

For Hoggan's acceptance of Hitler's statements at face value, see pages 48-49 (peaceful purposes); page 56 (reasons for leaving the League); page 62 (Rhineland remilitarization); pages 125-126, 134 (*Anschluss*), and so forth. Hoggan even accepts Hitler's September 1938 statement that the Sudetenland was his last territorial demand in Europe (page 149); those who hold Hitler broke this promise "ignorierten die Wahrheit" (ignored the truth; page 150).

On the Hossbach memorandum, Hoggan cites an affidavit I have not seen. In his seven-page affidavit of March 15, 1946 (386-PS), Hossbach concludes that the document correctly reproduces the "typewritten copy of the handwritten memorandum."

Hoggan fails to meet my charge of transposition. For the Polish reaction to the October 1938 overture, he carefully cites the *German White Book* (pages 72-73) in which the key passages had been omitted to prove in 1939 Hoggan's thesis of 1961; elsewhere Hoggan cites the *Documents on German Foreign Policy* where the same record may be found in full—but then the thesis collapses. Hoggan asserts: "Die Sowjetführer machten ihr Eingreifen gegen Polen im September auch von einem Anspruch auf Litauen abhängig. . . . Die Deutschen . . . waren gezwungen, dieses regelrechte Ultimatum der Sowjetunion zu akzeptieren" [The Soviet leaders made their September intervention against Poland dependent upon

a claim to Lithuania. . . . The Germans . . . were obliged to accept what was in fact a Soviet ultimatum] (pages 622–623). Russia attacked Poland on September 17 and asked for Lithuania in exchange for parts of Poland on September 25. Soviet action on September 17 was dependent on Germany's reply to an ultimatum of September 25!

On the fourth point, distortion and fabrication of evidence, space limitations may have given the impression of unsubstantiated charges. Ten more examples out of a vastly greater number had been included in the text of the review as submitted. Hoggan simply invents wild statements for Roosevelt (page 583). Statements on pages 227, 243, 328, 472, 478, 481, 527, and 597 are either not supported or even contradicted by the authorities given for them. Halifax is alleged to have held "that an English-German war was unavoidable after March, 1936" (page 135). This is later improved to read: "Halifax decided in 1936 that there would be war with Germany" (page 841). The evidence cited for this is a passage in Halifax' memoirs defending the Munich agreement and suggesting that its critics should focus on 1936 instead. Halifax (in 1956) mused: "So that moment which, I would guess, offered the last effective chance of securing peace without war, went by." This proves Halifax a warmonger since 1936!

Hoggan is entitled to think that Poland's being the victim of aggression is a "propaganda fiction" (page 475). He is welcome to the view that Hitler's long-term aims toward the German Jews were "exactly" the same as Lincoln's toward the American Negroes (page 208). He can assure us that Mussolini had not the slightest connection with Matteotti's "heart attack" (page 290). Grabert and Backhaus believe him; what more does he want?

As for the comments of Professor Barnes, it is worth noting that he does not answer a single criticism of mine, but merely asserts that others, four drafts and fourteen years ago, allegedly did not find the same errors and fabrications. This reflects his different approach to the book: he examined Hoggan's academic pedigree; I checked the sources. Thus the table of contents includes the startling heading: "Hitler mit einem Waffenstillstand und einer Konferenz einverstanden" [Hitler agrees to an armistice and a conference] (page 14). The text for this states that Hitler accepted the Italian conference plan of September 2, 1939, "vorbehaltlos" (without reservation), and that hostilities in Poland could stop at noon on September 3 (page 772). This was news to me, and so I looked at the three documents listed in the footnote as supporting the assertion. None contains anything of the sort. Hitler merely promised to give a reply to the Italian proposal on September 3 at noon. Everything else is pure invention. Hoggan's book is filled with such things, and it is just as unfair to attribute approval of them to reputable scholars, as to drag Martin Luther's name into a discussion of editor Grabert. Just as Grabert himself had to answer for his Neo-Nazi activities in a German court (which found him guilty), so Hoggan himself must answer for his distortions of the facts in the court of historical judgment. Barnes is free to appear in Hoggan's behalf, but assertions of innocence by association will not be enough; he ought to bring along a little evidence more convincing than Hoggan's fictions.

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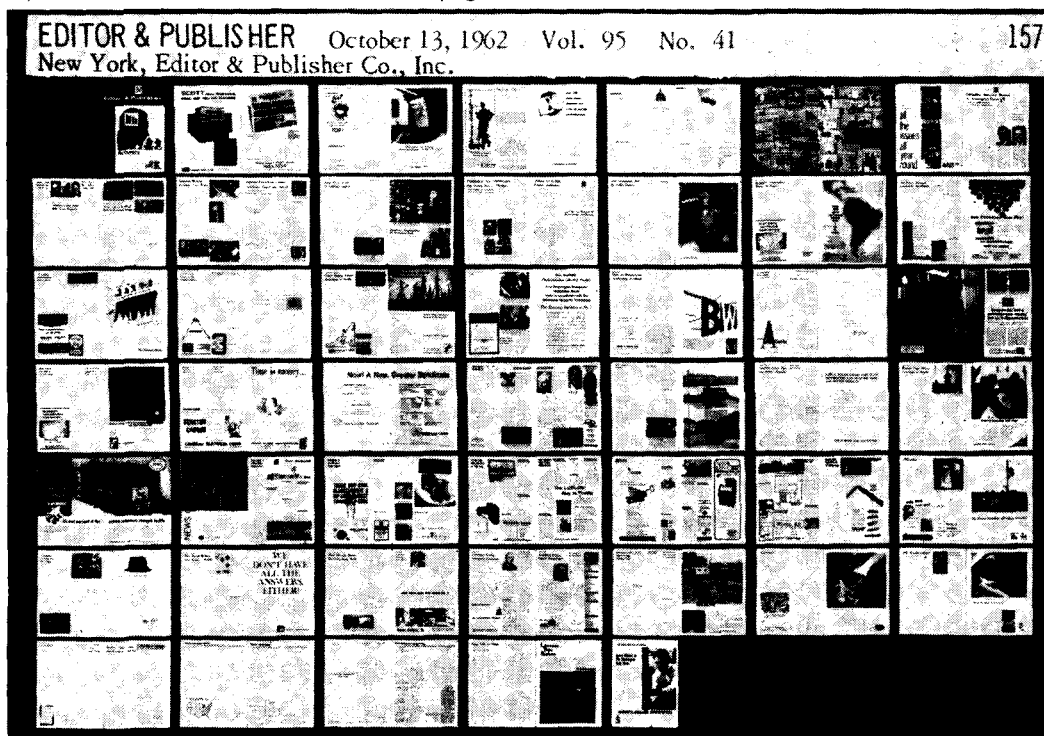
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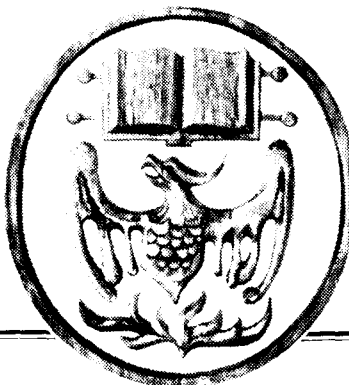
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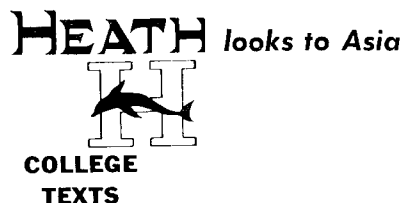
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